

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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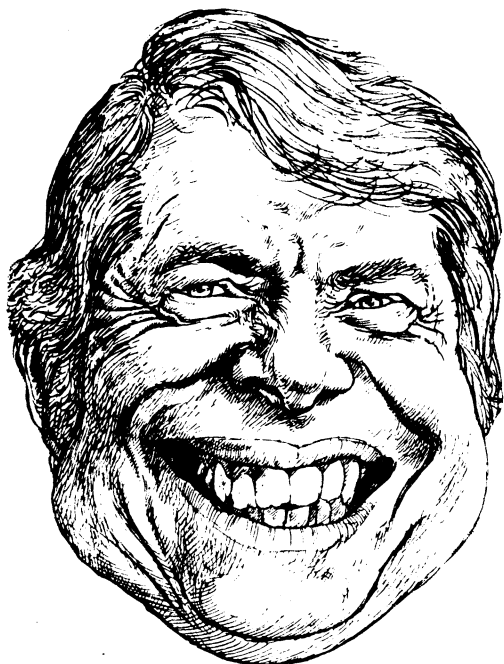
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DEFEND THE SASO NINE: The Committee to Free the SASO Nine has called "an urgent mass meeting" for June 9 in New York City to discuss defense of political prisoners in South Africa. The committee has been organizing picket lines, demonstrations, and forums to protest the imprisonment of nine members of the South African Students Organisation (SASO). These youths are being tried on phony "conspiracy" charges and could face death by hanging if convicted.

A statement from the committee explains that the number of SASO defendants has grown to sixteen, and "one member of the organization has been tortured to death." The June 9 meeting will begin at 7:30 p.m. at 605 West 115th Street.

HELP PUT SOCIALISTS ON ILLINOIS BALLOT: June 5 in Chicago is the first in a series of "Campaign Saturdays" for supporters of Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. It is part of a three-week blitz to put the Socialist Workers party presidential ticket on the Illinois ballot.

Undemocratic election laws require the socialists to obtain 25,000 signatures on nominating petitions. But, says state campaign director Barbara Mutnick, "We aim to get many thousands of signatures over the minimum required to ensure that for the first time SWP presidential candidates will be on the Illinois ballot."

In Chicago's predominantly Black First Congressional District, supporters of Andrew Pulley's bid for the seat now held by Democrat Ralph Metcalfe must collect some 4,500 signatures to qualify the socialist for the ballot. Metcalfe, on the other hand, only had to gather 382 signatures to run in the March primary.

Mutnick said that the five Chicago branches of the Socialist Workers party are organizing petitioning teams on Saturdays, weekdays, and evenings after work. "We welcome help from more volunteers," she said.

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance in DeKalb, Champaign-Urbana, Charleston, Springfield, and Carbon-dale have pledged to get several thousand signatures for the party's presidential and statewide candidates.

To help out call (312) 939-0737 or write the campaign committee at 428 South Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

CHICANO LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM: The Frobén Lozada for Congress Socialist Workers Campaign Committee is sponsoring a weekend on "Chicano Liberation and Socialism" June 11 and 12. On Friday at 8:00 p.m. discussions will begin at 1467 Fruitvale Avenue in Oakland, California, with a panel on the "Chicano Struggle Today." Panelists will be Vicente Gonzalez, a leader of La Raza Unida party in Union City; Maria Vargas, a representative of Raza Educators in Berkeley; Ana Nieto Gómez who teaches Chicano studies at the University of California, Northridge; Frobén Lozada, SWP candidate from the Ninth Congressional District; and Dorinda Moreno, editor of *Espina Norte*.

On Saturday afternoon Ana Nieto Gómez will give a talk on "Nationalism and Feminism." Also, Miguel Pendás, staff writer for the *Militant's* Southwest bureau, will lead a class on the relationship of socialism to the Chicano struggle.

For more information see the calendar on page 30.

FREE GARY TYLER: More than 150 supporters of Gary Tyler marched in Louisville on May 22. The Black youth is sitting on death row in a Louisiana prison. The crowd marched through the Black community chanting, "Gary Tyler must go free, that's the way it's gotta be!" Half of the demonstrators were Black.

The Committee to Free Gary Tyler called the march and drew support from many local groups, including the Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Coalition Against Racism, Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, Iranian Student Union at the University of Louisville, the Burning Spear Support Committee, the Young Socialist Alliance, and International Socialists.

All the speakers echoed a similar theme—what is happening to Gary Tyler in Louisiana could easily happen to any Black in Louisville because of the racist atmosphere in that city.

One of the speakers, Brother N. Muhammad of the Nation of Islam, is himself a victim of racist justice. He is out on an appeal bond from state prison fighting a rape frame-up. Ken Plotnik of the Student Coalition Against Racism and Anne Braden of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression linked the struggles to free Gary Tyler to the fight to stop racist attacks on school desegregation.

CHICANO PRESS REPRINTS 'MILITANT': *El Sol de Texas*, a Chicano weekly published in Dallas, reprinted excerpts from an article in the May 14 *Militant*, "Chicanos fight for control in Robstown, Texas." The article, by

Militant Southwest Bureau chief Harry Ring, was based on discussions with activists in Familias Unidas, which ran independent Chicano candidates for local offices.

A Chicano publication in El Paso, *El Mestizo*, carried two *Militant* articles in its May issue: and article on the April 3 rally of 2,000 in San Francisco protesting attempts to extradite American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks; and a story on the March 27 Chicano community march of 2,000 in San Jose demanding justice for Danny Treviño, a youth gunned down by cops last fall.

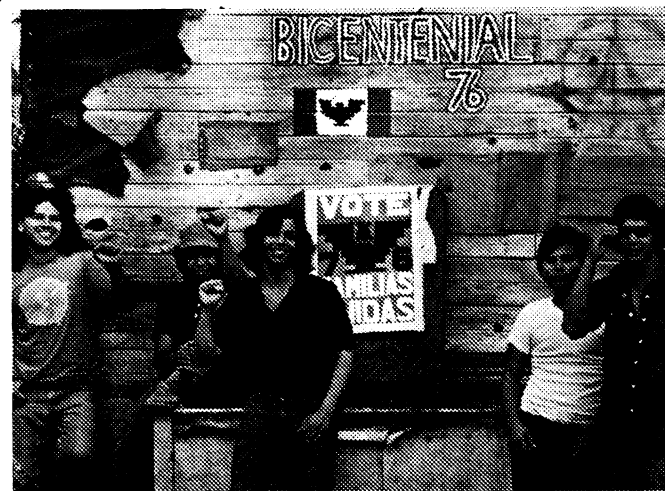
NEW BOOK ON SWP SELLS FAST: Fifteen days after *Prospects for Socialism in America* was published, Pathfinder Press reported that more than 1,700 copies had been shipped out to bookstores and individuals. The socialist bookstore in Baltimore sold 25 copies within three days. Forty copies have been sold in Berkeley, and 20 in Newark. Other bookstores have also reported brisk sales.

Prospects for Socialism in America explains what the Socialist Workers party is and what it stands for. In it, five leaders of the SWP present the party's program and its proposals for building a mass socialist movement in the United States and for ending inflation, unemployment, racism, and the oppression of women.

SWP OPENS SHOP IN CINCINNATI: "Latest FBI/CIA Crimes: More Business as Usual" was the topic of a Militant Forum in Cincinnati on May 20. It was the first forum organized by the newly established Cincinnati branch of the Socialist Workers party. Nineteen people came to the meeting.

ACLU HONORS DANIEL SCHORR: CBS news reporter Daniel Schorr was honored May 22 by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California at a reception attended by 500 people. Schorr was suspended by CBS and is under congressional investigation for releasing the report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence to the *Village Voice* newspaper.

In accepting the ACLU's First Amendment Award, Schorr compared the "awful era" of the 1950s witch-hunt with today. Explaining that the public has been educated by Watergate and the congressional hearings, Schorr said, "The good news is that in three months of going around the country explaining that the role of the press is to expose secrets and deceptions of government, the average American says, 'You're right!'" —Ginny Hildebrand



Special Offer For New Readers

This week Southwest Bureau head Harry Ring continues a series on Chicano struggles in the Southwest, based on discussions with leaders and activists there. Raza Unida party . . . farm workers movement . . . bilingual education . . . fight against deportations . . . Keep up with the struggle for Chicano liberation. Subscribe to the *Militant*.

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Democrats give orders

Schools, hospitals, day care shut in NYC

By José Pérez

"The real crisis begins now."

That's how a top aide to New York Gov. Hugh Carey put it at the end of May.

Within the span of a few days, authorities ordered a vast new wave of cutbacks.

It marks a major escalation of the anti-working-class drive by the Democratic and Republican politicians who run the city on behalf of the banks and big business.

- The Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB) voted May 18 to impose an across-the-board freeze on all wage and benefit increases for all city workers. In the process, it scrapped the contract negotiated between the Transport Workers Union and the Metropolitan Transit Authority.

- The city administration approved May 24 a \$12.5 billion budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1. It incorporates \$379 million in new cutbacks, on top of the \$200 million cut during the past fiscal year. And the full effect of the previous cuts has yet to be felt.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
GOTBAUM: 'Delighted' with wage freeze.

- Missing from the new budget is the more than \$100 million supposedly restored to primary and secondary education under the state legislature's Stavisky bill. New York Mayor Abraham Beame simply ignored this, saying the city didn't have the money and that the law was "invalid and unconstitutional." About 6,000 teachers will be fired, in addition to the 12,000 already let go.

- Further steps were taken toward closing four of the remaining eighteen city hospitals and firing 3,200 employees. Leaders of the union representing nonprofessional staff say their local will strike if layoffs are carried out as now scheduled.

- City officials announced the closing of forty-nine more day-care centers that serve 3,500 children. Some 1,500 workers will be laid off.

- Agreement was reached between the New York City Board of Higher Education (BHE), the legislature, the governor, and the mayor to end free tuition at the City University of New York. Imposing tuition will force at least 10,000 students out of school, the greatest proportion of them Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

Democratic politicians had tried to shift the onus for imposing tuition onto the state legislature—and especially the Republican-controlled senate—through an eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation over who would advance CUNY funds to meet a May 28 payroll. When nobody blinked, 12,000 professors were left without their monthly paycheck.

Having defaulted on the payroll, the CUNY chancellor then shut down the system altogether, while 270,000 students were in the middle of final exams. The decision helped create a crisis atmosphere in which tuition could be more easily imposed. It also effectively prevented students and staff from using the campuses to organize against the payless payday or the imposition of tuition.

Despite the sweeping character of the attacks, they met with no organized opposition. The labor leaders who head the most powerful organizations of the working class in this city either

did nothing or explicitly agreed to the cuts.

The reason for their failure to fight back is that the top labor officials support the Democratic and Republican politicians who are ordering and implementing the cuts. The union officials refuse to confront these politicians by leading a struggle against the cutbacks.

A key turning point in this capitulation was the Transport Workers Union contract. After much tough talk, the leadership of the powerful TWU accepted in April a contract with no improvements except a modest cost-of-living clause.

The Emergency Financial Control Board, headed by Democratic Governor Carey, then ripped up the contract, saying that no wage increases would be granted except through "dollar for dollar" savings achieved by productivity gains.

The EFCB was set up last fall as the ultimate guarantee to bankers that their interest payments will be made on time and in full. It is appointed by the governor and responsible to no one but the business executives and capitalist politicians who are members. It has absolute power over all aspects of the city's finances.

The new EFCB formula is an absolute freeze on payments to labor. The board said no increase in funds to pay workers' wages or benefits will be permitted.

Any pay increase for one worker must come out of the paycheck of another through speedup and resulting layoffs.

Only the EFCB can decide which productivity gains count and which don't.

This is a trap to enlist the unions in a speedup campaign. It will inevitably lead to a declining standard of living as inflation eats up workers' paychecks.

TWU President Matthew Guinan accepted the EFCB ruling without a peep of protest. He refused to allow transit workers to vote on the "revised" pact, claiming—incredibly—that it was not significantly different

from the negotiated contract.

The EFCB affirmed that its decision on the transit workers' contract applies to all contracts for all city workers, including agreements affecting nearly 250,000 municipal employees that expire June 30.

The most significant response to the wage freeze came from Victor Gotbaum, head of the 100,000-strong District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees.

Continued on page 30

The payoff

Where does the money cut from social services go? Two dispatches on the front page of the May 28 *New York Times* tell the story:

"ALBANY, May 27—The New York State Assembly gave final passage today to the repeal of a stiff increase voted last fall in New York City's estate tax—even though the action leaves what officials acknowledge is a \$35 million 'hole' in the city's financial recovery plan.

"The repeal comes before the tax has been permitted to take effect. . . . [The tax] had the effect of doubling or tripling the actual tax that wealthier persons pay. This problem was one of the main reasons the legislature sought to repeal the surcharge."

* * *

"New York City will halt the financing of 49 day-care centers as of July 1, in effect forcing their closing, J. Henry Smith, the Human Resources Administrator, announced yesterday. . . .

"The new cuts, he said, were part of a plan to save \$34 million from the \$150 million that would have been needed for the program in the coming year."

Less for us.

More for them.

That's what the "budget crisis" is all about.

Private hospitals seek wage freeze, benefit cuts

By Roberta Frick

NEW YORK—Private hospitals here, following the lead of the city and state administrations, are on the offensive, aiming to wipe out the hard-won gains of hospital workers.

Contracts expire June 30 between District 1199 (National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees) and the League of Voluntary Hospitals—fifty-two private hospitals employing 40,000 union members in service, technical, clerical, and professional positions.

The negotiations, which began May 5, also affect another 10,000 union members in other institutions that traditionally follow the league pattern.

Management opened negotiations by presenting a list of demands to freeze wages and cut benefits.

Management calls for eliminating training and upgrading programs, eliminating sick pay for the first day of illness, denying benefits and pensions to many part-time workers, and making retirement compulsory at age sixty-five. It also wants the right to subcontract union jobs to outside firms at lower pay.

District 1199 negotiators countered with demands for a 10 percent or twenty-dollar wage increase, whichever is larger, and increased payments to benefit and pension funds.

These negotiations are the first

between District 1199 and the league since the National Labor Relations Act was extended to hospital workers in 1974, supposedly guaranteeing their right to collective bargaining.

But the league is confident that its offensive has the firm support of city, state, and federal government. The aim of both public and private employ-

ers is to lay off thousands of hospital workers, cripple the hospital unions, and wipe out basic health-care services for the poor.

A freeze on Medicaid payments—adopted by the state legislature in March as part of its own cutback program—is cited by the league as justification for their wage-freeze pro-

posal.

District 1199 President Leon Davis told union negotiators, "We will have to fight the hospitals and the state of New York for every nickel we get in these negotiations. It will take all we've got to maintain the necessary unity and determination when things come to a showdown in June."



2,000 hospital workers turned out last March for District 1199 protest against Medicaid cutbacks bill

1199 News

NSCAR sets fall probusing conference

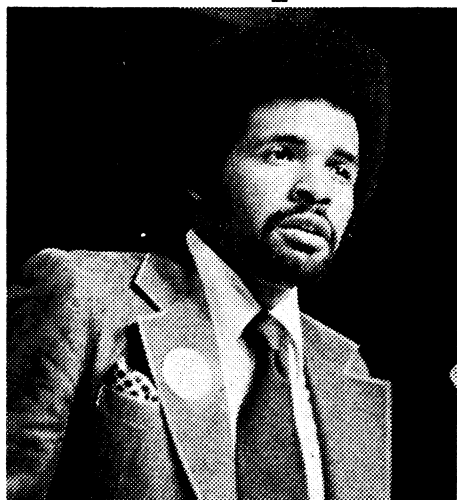
By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—A national leadership meeting of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) voted May 29 to hold an antiracist conference in Boston this fall.

The conference is seen as part of an ongoing effort to educate the public about the issues in the Boston school struggle and the desegregation struggle nationally.

The meeting was preceded by a Friday night rally at which 125 people heard prominent leaders of national civil rights organizations and local desegregation advocates condemn the Ford administration's consideration of moves to strike down busing.

Rev. Bernard Lee, vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Joseph Madison, executive secretary of the Detroit NAACP, addressed the rally. Also speaking was Theodore Landsmark, a



Militant/Baxter Smith
MADISON: 'You've got to mobilize.'

Black attorney who was recently beaten outside of Boston's city hall by a gang of white thugs using an American flag as a weapon.

In his talk, Lee touched on the significance of recent probusing remarks made by George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO. Lee termed the remarks an incentive to desegregation forces.

"I never expected anything positive from George Meany," Lee said, "but his statement the other day about how there has never been anything wrong with busing is all right with me."

The SCLC leader warned his listeners, "Don't get paralysis. The time to act for desegregation is now. And the day for marching isn't over."

Madison expressed his confidence that NSCAR would continue the militant traditions of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee during the Southern civil rights struggle. He said that demonstrations such as those would be necessary to ward off government actions against busing.

"If you want to shut Gerald Ford up, you've got to take to the streets. You've got to hit those streets," the civil rights leader said. "You've got to mobilize every single student in this country to hit those streets."

Landsmark, whose nose was fractured when he was beaten, said that racism "like we encountered in the South in the civil rights days" was responsible for the attack on him.

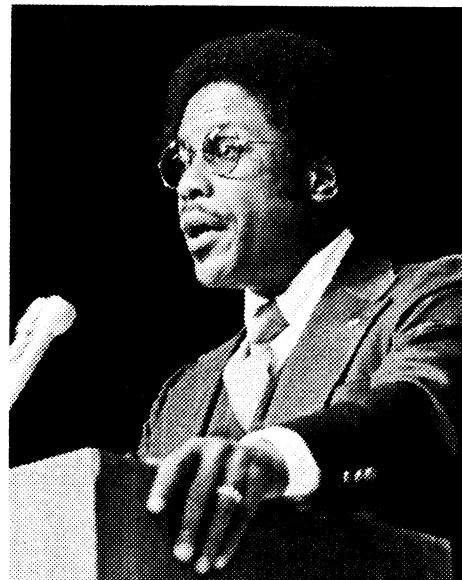
"I wasn't known to them as a busing supporter when those people attacked me at City Hall Plaza," declared the young attorney, who said he was bused as a student in New York. "But you don't have to be a busing advocate to find yourself swept up in this thing which is bigger than busing."

Others addressing the crowd at the Boston University meeting were: Rev. Vernon Carter of All Saints Lutheran Church of Boston; Reba Williams of the Action Coalition for the ERA; Hubie Jones, a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology; community activist Obalaji Rust; and Christine Rossell, a Boston University professor who has done studies on desegregation and white flight.

Also speaking were Eric Van Loon, chief counsel in the Boston desegregation case, and Percy Wilson of the Roxbury Multi-Service Center, a central figure in the busing struggle here.

In his address to the rally, Maceo Dixon, a coordinator of NSCAR, set the tone for the steering committee meeting held the next day. Dixon said the involvement of organizations such as the NAACP and SCLC was vital.

"To win this fight, we need to build a movement that involves the NAACP, SCLC, Operation PUSH, the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Urban League, and the labor movement—the



Militant/Baxter Smith
LEE: 'Time to act is now.'



Militant/Baxter Smith
LANDSMARK: 'This is bigger than busing.'

AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers. That is what it took in the 1950s and the 1960s to defeat segregation. We need a picketing, marching, boycotting, united movement," Dixon said.

Dixon also blasted the announcement by the Ford administration that it was considering entering an anti-busing brief in the Boston desegregation case. He said that this had already inflamed "racism, bigotry, and lawbreaking across the country."

"Whenever a yellow school bus is overturned, it is being pushed by a hand in the Oval Office," Dixon said.

The steering committee meeting decided, in the spirit of Dixon's remarks, that the fall convention will be open to all opponents of racial discrimination.

Dixon said that NSCAR should continue to try to work with organizations such as the NAACP, SCLC, the Nation of Islam, the National Urban League, and labor unions.

As steps toward this, the steering committee made plans for NSCAR representatives to attend upcoming conventions of the NAACP, Urban League, Operation PUSH, and other Black organizations.

To find out more about NSCAR's plans, contact the group at: 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, Massachusetts 02121. Telephone: (617) 288-6200.

Back Tyler, July 4 action

BOSTON—The NSCAR steering committee meeting also decided to gear up its support for the effort to free Gary Tyler. Tyler, a Black Louisiana high school student, is on death row following his frame-up conviction on charges of murdering a white person.

Tyler's younger brother, Terry, received a warm response when he addressed the steering committee meeting.

The meeting also heard a report by Maceo Dixon on NSCAR's work in helping to produce a large turnout for a July 4 protest in Philadelphia. The demonstration, initiated by the Puerto Rican Socialist party, will protest the continuing colonial status of Puerto Rico at the time of the bicentennial.

Dixon also proposed that NSCAR chapters consider organizing picket lines and other protests at speaking engagements by President Ford to show opposition to his antidesegregation stand. —B.S.

Harvard med students protest racist prof

By Baxter Smith

BOSTON—Minority students in the Harvard Medical School, taking the offensive against racist remarks published by a Harvard medical professor, rallied here May 18 to demand that he be stripped of the duty of evaluating students in the medical program.

Three hundred students turned out, about one-third of whom were Black.

The students, some with stethoscopes protruding from starched white jackets, took strong issue with Dr. Bernard Davis's statements that the nation's medical schools are accepting unqualified Black applicants and turning out incompetent Black doctors.

Davis's statements that the performance of Black medical students is "substandard" and that Black doctors are probably leaving a "swath of unnecessary deaths" behind them appeared in the May 11 *New England Journal of Medicine*.

Medical students at Harvard do not receive grades, but instead receive an evaluation, sometimes rendered by Davis.

"It is especially pernicious that this attack comes at a time in a city already hemorrhaging from the wound inflicted by racist opportunists in their futile battle to deny equal access to public primary and secondary education," Woodrow Myers, a Black third-year student, told the rally on the



Militant/Baxter Smith
May 18 rally at Harvard Medical School

steps of the medical school admissions building.

"The spirit of retrogression infects the nation as a whole and professional education in particular. In school busing, in the hiring of minority contractors and tradesmen in community construction projects, and in violent attacks on innocent bystanders, we see a recurring tide of repression."

"Unfortunate as it may be, medical and professional schools across the nation will be besieged by attempts to incorporate Dr. Davis's misinformed

assertions into misguided and reactionary admissions policies."

Myers's speech represented the formal position of the minority students.

In it he cited the 1974 Marco DeFunis case in the state of Washington, where a white student filed suit against a law school, charging that unqualified Blacks were being admitted while he was being unfairly excluded. Davis's position, the minority students fear, may lead to similar suits against so-called reverse discrimination.

"Every medical student at the Harvard Medical School is admitted under

the same ethical, academic, and moral criteria," Myers said. "To claim that we do not meet these exceptionally high qualifications is an indictment of the Harvard faculty of medicine and its admissions committee."

Alvin Poussaint, the Black psychiatrist, social commentator, and associate dean of student affairs at Harvard Medical School, echoed these remarks:

"If these students are substandard, then the white students are substandard, and we'd better close Harvard Medical School down," he said.

The president of the National Medical Association condemned Davis's claims, as did the president of the New England Medical Society. Both the dean of the faculty of medicine at Harvard and the faculty council of the Harvard Medical School scoffed at Davis's charges. Derek Bok, president of Harvard, lauded the minority students' performance.

A spokesperson for the minority students cited figures to prove discrimination against Blacks and other oppressed minorities. In 1910, he said, 2.7 percent of all doctors were Black; in 1973, 0.2 percent were Black. In 1974, the proportion of Black medical students was 6 percent and the figure for all minority medical students was 8 percent, whereas the minority population of the country is almost 20 percent.

Decision sparks racist violence

Levi backs off Boston busing challenge

By Peter Seidman

In the wake of an outpouring of outraged protest by civil rights and labor leaders, U.S. Attorney General Edward Levi announced May 29 that he would not intervene in support of busing opponents who are now appealing the Boston school desegregation plan ordered by federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity.

Levi made clear, however, that the Justice Department would continue to seek to enter some "appropriate" case in compliance with an order from President Ford to limit the scope of busing, as part of the administration's attack on equal rights for Black people.

Thomas Atkins, president of the Boston NAACP, termed Levi's decision "a victory for the U.S. Constitution." Atkins said the "principal impact will be to deprive those who have resisted the court order with violence of any further hope that those tactics will be successful."



LEVI: Not 'appropriate'

The chief legal counsel for the NAACP, Nathaniel Jones, called the decision a "victory for those forces in this country concerned with the preservation of law and order."

Massachusetts state representative Mary Goode, who is chairperson of the state legislative Black caucus, described Levi's decision as "wise" and expressed the hope that its result would be to "diminish violence, not escalate it."

Racist foes of school desegregation in Boston, however, took Levi's decision as the pretext for launching a new wave of violence.

On May 29 arsonists set fire to a bicentennial exhibit. The blaze caused \$75,000 damage to the Boston Tea Party museum.

Police also reported that windows were broken at nine downtown Boston stores and banks.

Calls received at Boston's two daily newspapers indicated that the arson and vandalism were the work of the South Boston Defense League, a racist goon squad known for its physical attacks on Boston's Black community.

James Kelly of the South Boston Information Center, a prominent antibusing organization, had earlier predicted such violence. The reaction to Levi's decision, he said, was one of "complete anger, and that's putting it mildly. I've never seen people more upset." Kelly warned that "militancy seems the only alternative."

Kelly said he had heard that the "defense league" was planning disruptions if Levi decided against joining the antibusing court appeal. He said the group had "supplies to do anything," and that they intended to "create havoc in Boston," planning to "get at the businesses downtown."

On May 31, a gang of white ruffians set upon four Puerto Rican youths in the most serious racist attack since the April 5 beating of a Black attorney outside Boston City Hall.

The youths, who were returning along South Boston's Day Boulevard from a fishing trip, were chased and beaten by fifty whites using sticks and clubs as weapons.

They were finally rescued by John Byrne, a white resident of South Boston, who broke up the attack by driving his car into the pack of hoodlums. As Byrne's car drove off, it too came under attack from the racists' clubs.

Boston cops made no arrests in this incident.

This new attack is an ominous sign of what lies ahead for Boston's embattled Black and Puerto Rican communities this summer.

Despite Levi's announcement, the racists' hopes remain buoyed up by the antibusing statements of government officials. The Ford administration has said it will continue to seek ways to limit what it calls "court-ordered forced busing." Boston Mayor Kevin White announced that his appeal of the federal desegregation order "will proceed in an orderly fashion regardless of any other action."

NSCAR hits Ford maneuvers

In an interview with the *Militant*, Maceo Dixon, a national coordinator of NSCAR, explained that Levi made his decision "because of the tremendous pressure put on him by civil rights and labor organizations."

"NSCAR," Dixon said, "is going to help keep up this pressure campaign. It was pressure that made Levi and Ford back down this far and it's going to be pressure that will make them back down from talking about 'alternatives' to busing and get them to enforce the law."

Dixon added, "What the Ford administration should be talking about is not so-called alternatives to busing, but how to push ahead for school desegregation and busing all across the country."

The Black leader also blasted the Ford administration for encouraging anti-Black violence. "When Levi and Ford made the statement that they were considering entering the case in Boston," he said, "that only encouraged the antibusing forces to continue their violence. NSCAR says there is a way that



Militant/Baxter Smith

DIXON: 'Keep up the pressure.'

things like the attacks on the Puerto Rican youths and the window breakings can be stopped: the government has to strongly intervene on the side of the Black community and arrest these people. Arrest these thugs. Arrest these criminals.

"This is the way to stop their violent campaign against Blacks and Puerto Ricans in this city and against school desegregation."

Rally draws 300

Denver residents outraged by police brutality

By John Isenhower

DENVER—A storm of protest against police brutality is brewing in Denver.

Three hundred people, most of them Blacks and Chicanos, gathered at the City and County Building May 27 to demonstrate their anger at the recent police killing of Carl Newland, a Black man, and the beating of Stanley Muñiz, a Chicano, when he was stopped for a minor traffic violation.

Newland was picked up April 9 by Denver police after a newsstand hold-up. Even though the newsstand employee said Newland was not the robber, police took him in anyway for being "abusive."

At the jail, Newland was beaten unconscious. The pleas of other inmates that he be given medical attention were ignored. Newland died four days later.

In addition to these atrocities, public attention has focused on other incidents of police violence:

- On April 10 some 180 young people, mostly Blacks, were ousted from the Aurora skating rink. Six Blacks were arrested—no whites. One Black youth was sent to the hospital.

- Thirty-five Black parents have filed charges as a result of the incident.

- On May 26 Donald Van Pelt, a Black man, was acquitted of charges of assaulting a city jail guard. Van Pelt

was arrested last December as he tried to pay a traffic fine.

Van Pelt thought the fine was ten dollars, all the money he had with him. The fine was fifteen dollars. He was thrown in jail for not having five more dollars.

Van Pelt's wife paid the fine, but he was kept in jail "pending paperwork." Then he was beaten by guards for refusing to take a spoon in the jail "feeding area."

Van Pelt has filed counter charges.

- On March 24 Father José Lara was severely beaten at Our Lady of Guadalupe Church during a police raid. The ostensible purpose of the raid was to "search for explosives." The church is a well-known pacifist center. It also provides office space for the United Farm Workers union.

The May 27 protest was called by the recently formed Coalition Against Police Abuse, whose sponsors include the NAACP, Operation PUSH, Student Coalition Against Racism, Muhammad's Mosque of Islam, Northern District Baptist Association, and the lieutenant governor's office.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, was on tour in Denver at the time and addressed the rally. He was introduced by Colorado Lt. Gov. George Brown, the highest Black elected official in the state.

"This is a long fight and we have to

stay in there," Wilkins said. "I pledge the support of the local and national NAACP."

State Rep. Wellington Webb, head of the coalition and president of Denver PUSH, told the rally, "The problems that we are encountering today are not just the problems of the Black and



Militant/Frank Lord

Roy Wilkins pledges NAACP's support at Denver protest rally of 300.

Chicano communities. The death of Carl Newland and the beating of Stanley Muñiz are the concerns of every citizen.

"This problem will not be solved by one group or individual. That's why we formed this coalition. We urge you to join with us."

Webb announced that the House Democratic Caucus and some city council members were initiating a petition drive for a civilian review board over the police.

Bruce Farnsworth of the Student Coalition Against Racism addressed the protesters. "What we need are more rallies and demonstrations like this one today," he said.

"We must let the government know that we will not sit idly by while people are beaten to death in the city jail."

"We want to know how many more Carl Newlands and Stanley Muñizes there are. We want to know the truth and we want the criminals in the police department brought to justice."

The *Militant* interviewed several protesters at the rally. "I think we need more of these," said Charles Diggs, a Black man. "It lets the people in the jails know that they aren't alone and that the police can't get away with everything."

"I like the idea of the people being united," said Susan Montoya. "That really scares the police."

Why busing is necessary

By Malik Miah

The most controversial issue in American politics today is busing.

Three weeks ago the leading opponent of busing, President Gerald Ford, directed Attorney General Edward Levi to find an "appropriate and proper case" to "reexamine" the merits of busing to end school segregation.

Levi's initial choice was Boston, where busing has been going on the past two years.

Immediate public outcry, however, has forced Levi to retreat. The attorney general says he will not intervene in the Boston case unless the Supreme Court decides on its own to hear the case.

Nonetheless, Ford's instructions to Levi remain: Find an appropriate case to press for limiting busing.

The controversy around the Ford-Levi moves has sharpened the national debate on busing.

Even though a majority of Americans support school desegregation, only a small minority favor busing. On the other hand, a small but vocal minority oppose busing. Meanwhile, most Americans have not taken a firm position one way or another.

This confusion has been aggravated by all the presidential hopefuls in the Democratic and Republican primaries. Front-runners Ford and Jimmy Carter have both made clear their opposition to "forced busing" in an attempt to win votes.

Hicks's views

Confusion around busing is consciously propagated by opponents of school desegregation.

A good example of this is a recent article by Louise Day Hicks, president of the Boston City Council. It appeared in the May 3 *New York Times*. Hicks is also national president of the leading antibusing organization, Restore Our Alienated Rights (ROAR), which is based in Boston.

In this article she demagogically states: "Because of forced busing, the public school system [in Boston] has lost close to 40,000 white students, leading to a predominantly black enrollment—and the buses roll. . . ."

"Only an end to forced busing will rebalance Boston's pupil enrollment. Only an end to forced busing will halt white flight. Only an end to forced busing will keep a \$33 million municipal deficit to be borne by fewer and fewer poor people from getting worse. Only an end to forced busing will stop the violence that plagues our schools

and streets."

According to Hicks, every problem Boston has—from poor housing to high taxes—is a result of busing.

These arguments deserve serious answer. Too many people either agree or are genuinely confused by them.

Let's begin by reviewing the purpose of busing.

Facts on busing

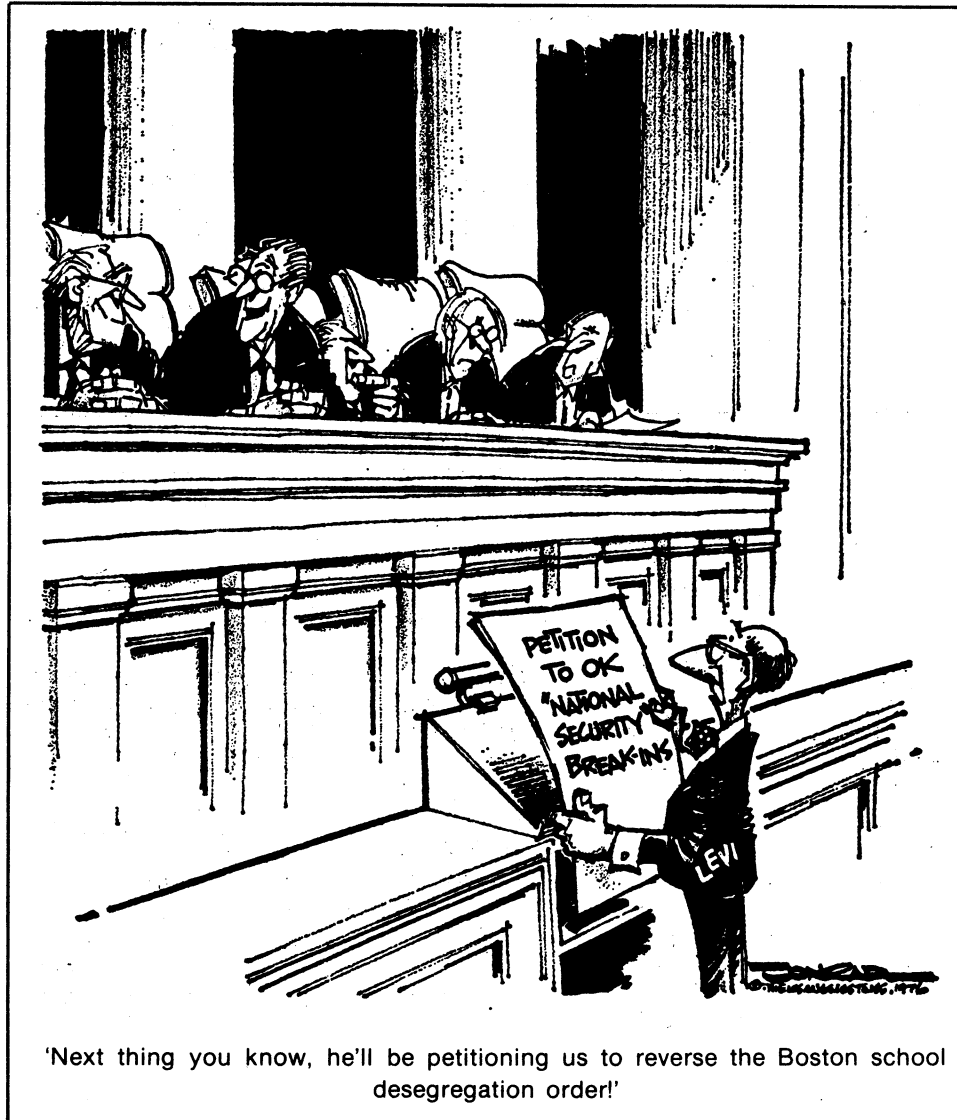
Busing is simply the means to ensure the democratic right of Blacks to receive an equal education. The better schools are in white neighbor-

said it had been negative, and the remainder had a mixed reaction.

More significantly, 92.4 percent of those surveyed said school desegregation itself was advantageous to their community.

Housing segregation

The report found that segregation in the North is much worse than in the South. This is because the 1954 decision only outlawed de jure, or legal, segregation—not de facto segregation, the type that exists in most Northern and Western cities.



hoods. Black students must be transported to these schools in buses.

Many busing opponents, such as Hicks, argue that busing violates their constitutional rights.

But what "rights" are they talking about? The right to attend better schools than Blacks—that is, to maintain their relative privileges over Blacks. The right to attempt to violate the law—the 1954 Supreme Court ruling that ended legal segregation.

The demand for such "rights" is not new. The Southern slave owners made similar false constitutional arguments prior to the Civil War.

Busing has been used for decades to get students to school. According to the National Institute of Education, 50.2 percent of America's 41.4 million public school children were bused to school in 1974. Only 7 percent of those 21 millions students bused were transported for desegregation purposes.

A recently released study by the Southern Regional Council refutes Hicks's claim that busing is harmful to the communities involved. Entitled "School Desegregation: A Report Card From the South," the study examines school desegregation experiences in eleven Southern cities.

The report found that 73 percent of those queried in cities where there had been busing believed that busing had been a positive experience, 19 percent

De facto segregation, however, is not accidental. It is the result of a conscious government policy. Housing ordinances nationwide function to segregate Blacks into certain parts of the city. Election districts are manipulated to deny Blacks political representation.

Blacks are forced into neighborhoods with the worst housing and the worst schools. Busing across school district lines, as in Boston, or city and county lines, as in Louisville, is necessary to end government-fostered school segregation in those cities.

White flight

Hicks argues that busing produces so-called white flight. Again the facts refute her.

The flight of whites—and Blacks who can afford it—to the suburbs is not caused by busing. An article by Christine Rossell in the November-December 1975 *integrateducation* clearly proves this.

Rossell analyzed eighty-six Northern school districts to determine the effect of school desegregation on white flight. She uses statistics beginning in 1967. "The remarkable characteristic of these data is that, of the ten districts which implemented a significant degree of school desegregation," she wrote, "only two showed any significant increase in white flight."

In Boston Blacks and Puerto Ricans now make up the majority of the public school system because opponents of busing have deliberately taken their children out of the public schools and placed them in Catholic schools or racist, all-white academies.

Violence and busing

Hicks also charges that busing causes violence. After two years of systematic anti-Black violence in Boston, this argument has persuaded some one-time supporters of school desegregation to oppose busing.

The truth of the matter is that city, state, and federal officials in Boston and other cities have given the white mobs and their reactionary backers a green light through their refusal to enforce the law by physically stopping the violence of the bigots.

No laws are worth a damn if they are not enforced. Of course, the government is more willing to lock up Blacks who defend themselves from physical attack. But when mass pressure is exerted on the government, it can also be forced to protect our rights.

For example, in September 1975, the government demonstrated that it could enforce the law in Boston.

The summer had been marked by much-publicized attacks on Blacks and an organized response by the Black community. Fearing a possible social rebellion in the city, authorities deployed large numbers of city cops, state troopers, and federal marshals at public schools in racist areas. Although the police treated the white mobs rather gently, the bigots were prevented from attacking Black students.

Mass response needed

What is needed to answer the demagoguery of Hicks and her ilk is a national antiracist, pro-school desegregation movement. The responsibility to initiate such a movement rests with groups such as the NAACP (the oldest and most important civil rights organization in the country), the Urban League, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Nation of Islam, and the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

This kind of movement could deal powerful blows to the racists. It could organize mass marches and rallies—apply the type of public pressure required to force the government to use all force necessary, including federal troops, to protect Black rights. It would also be able to win over those confused by the busing debate.

The national probusing marches organized in Boston on December 14, 1974, and May 17, 1975, which rallied more than ten thousand people each in support of school desegregation, need to be repeated—only on a larger scale. Those actions temporarily slowed the racist campaign. They gave confidence to the Black community.

But a year has passed without a national response to racist violence. Levi's initial move to intervene in the Boston case reflected the fact that the Black community has been on the defensive. But our immediate response stopped him, so far. A bigger and better-organized response is urgently needed.

As Robert Allen, editor of the *Black Scholar*, put it, "The government will not move to implement the law unless it feels sustained, organized pressure from the antiracist forces throughout this country."

Issues in Boston

THE RACIST OFFENSIVE AGAINST BUSING: *The Lessons of Boston; How to Fight Back*, by Willie Mae Reid, Peter Camejo, and others. 50 cents

WHO KILLED JIM CROW? *The Story of the Civil Rights Movement and Its Lessons for Today*, by Peter Camejo. 60 cents

FROM MISSISSIPPI TO BOSTON: *The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights*. An Education for Socialists publication, 8½ x 11 format, 75 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

'Sure I'll sign'

Full-time teams boost Mass. ballot drive

By Anne Teesdale

BOSTON—"Sure, I'd be glad to sign for the socialists," has been a typical response to a team of petitioners working full time to assure a ballot spot for Socialist Workers party candidates next November.

By state law, 37,096 signatures of Massachusetts voters must be collected to gain ballot status for Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, SWP candidates for president and vice-president, and for Carol Henderson Evans, candidate for U.S. Senate. An additional 2,533 are needed for the party's candidate for Congress in the Ninth District, James "Mac" Warren.

So far this week we have petitioned in downtown Boston, Cambridge, Lynn, Revere, Chelsea, and Saugus. The response has been good; we've already collected nearly 5,000 signatures. With a few days of practice behind us, we are each averaging about 100 signatures a day. And more volunteers will soon be joining our team.

One team member, Ellie Beth Brady, described some of her experiences to me. One young woman told Brady, "I'm a Democrat and I don't think socialists have a right to be on the ballot."

"Well I do," said the woman's friend.

She grabbed the pen and petition board out of Brady's hand to sign. "Besides, I'd like to see somebody sock it to those other politicians for a change," she said.

The next person to walk by Ellie was a *Militant* subscriber. "Hey, I've been looking for you people," he shouted. "I read in the *Militant* that you were out here petitioning, and I'd really like to help." More than 300 people have signed up so far to help petition weeknights and on Saturdays.

Across the street, petitioner Cathy Hillery was talking with a young

Black man. "Socialist Workers party," he said. "I've been seriously considering voting for you people this year. How's your suit coming against the FBI? Are they still burglarizing your offices?" He took several copies of the party's platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People," to give to his friends.

Over in Chelsea, a white working-class neighborhood near East Boston, an elderly woman thumbed through the Bill of Rights for Working People. "Protection against high prices—I'm

certainly for that," she said as she signed the petition.

Next Saturday, June 5, will be a big day for the petitioning drive. More than 200 campaign volunteers will petition throughout the state, concentrating on Springfield, Worcester, New Bedford, Cambridge, and Boston.

We need as many volunteers as possible. If you can help, contact the Massachusetts Socialist Workers Campaign, 510 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215. Telephone: (617) 262-4621.

Rally kicks off Missouri petitioning

ST. LOUIS—The Missouri Socialist Workers campaign launched an ambitious petitioning drive at a banquet and rally held here Saturday, May 22. The drive aims to put Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid on the ballot, along with Helen Savio for governor and Barbara Bowman for U.S. Senate.

Missouri law requires the collection of almost 18,000 signatures, spread out among five of the state's ten congressional districts. Missouri socialists plan to go substantially over this figure.

In 1974, after filing more than 29,000 signatures, the SWP senatorial candidate, Barbara Mutnick, was undemocratically ruled off the ballot. In 1975, however, the party was successful in getting Barbara Bowman on the ballot for president of the St. Louis Board of Aldermen.

The banquet and rally served not only to launch the petitioning drive, but to announce plans for the opening of an SWP branch in Kansas City. One of the first projects of this new branch will be to help out in the petitioning effort.

Speakers at the rally included Maceo Dixon, coordinator of the National Student Coalition Against Racism, and Ed Warren, Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress in the First District.

The week before the rally, J.B. Johnson, a young St. Louis Black man, was railroaded to prison for the second time on frame-up murder charges. Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother, received a standing ovation when she was introduced to the audience.

Bicentennial without colonies!

SWP candidates: 'March in Phila. July 4'

"We support the 'Bicentennial without Colonies' demonstration to be held in Philadelphia on July 4.

"It is fitting that on this date—200 years after the American colonists declared their independence from British tyranny—people from many cities will gather in Philadelphia to demand that the U.S. government recognize Puerto Rico's right to be a free and sovereign nation."

That is from a statement released May 31 by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, and Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for Congress in New York's Eighteenth District.

"Puerto Rico is subjected to all of the economic exploitation, political domination, and cultural indignities of a direct U.S. colony," the three candidates charged. "Puerto Ricans are denied the elementary right to determine their own affairs."

The socialists blasted the role of U.S. corporations that "reap huge profits

from the island while almost half of the Puerto Rican workers are unemployed and those that have jobs are paid low wages."

They also condemned the U.S. military's occupation of much of the island's best land. Thirteen percent of Puerto Rico is covered by military installations.

The statement urged opposition to the "Compact of Permanent Union between Puerto Rico and the United States" being discussed by the U.S. Congress. The candidates called it an attempt by Congress to "reinforce its colonial relationship" and control over Puerto Rico.

Garza, Camejo, and Reid lashed out at the Democratic and Republican politicians who will be the featured attraction at the official bicentennial demonstrations as "imposters."

"These upholders of Yanqui 'law and order' around the world and at home have nothing in common with the revolutionary struggle against the

British 200 years ago," they said.

The three SWP leaders said the true heirs of that revolutionary tradition were:

"Working people fighting for the right to a job and protection from inflation;

"Blacks in Boston, Louisville, and other cities fighting for equal education by busing;

"Women marching for the Equal Rights Amendment and control of their own bodies;

"Puerto Ricans and Chicanos fighting for bilingual-bicultural education;

"And Native Americans fighting for all the rights and dignity stolen from them."

The July 4 demonstration was initiated by the U.S. branch of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, one of the biggest proindependence groups in Puerto Rico.

According to the July 4 Coalition, one of the groups helping to organize

support for the protest, the demonstration has been endorsed by about 150 organizations.

Alfredo López, national coordinator of the coalition and a leader of the PSP, told the *Militant* that substantive agreement has been reached with Philadelphia city officials for a permit, and that Mayor Frank Rizzo has said that a permit will be issued at the beginning of June.

There will be a rally in a large, open area of Fairmount Park. Preceding the rally will be a march through Black and Puerto Rican areas of the city. The timing and location of the demonstration have been designed to avoid conflict with the official government activities.

July 4 actions in solidarity with the Philadelphia demonstration are planned by local coalitions in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle.

In addition, the Peoples Bicentennial Commission is sponsoring a rally in Washington, D.C., on that date.

Charge government disruption of July 4 action

By José Pérez

NEW YORK—The government is carrying out a Cointelpro-style campaign of disruption against the protest demonstration planned for Philadelphia July 4, organizers of the demonstration charge.

At a May 28 news conference in New York, July 4 Coalition activist Martha Schwartz said she has been subpoenaed by a federal grand jury "only because of my political activities." The grand jury, which claims to be investigating terrorist bombings, is in fact carrying out a "fishing expedition" against supporters of Puerto Rican independence, according to Schwartz.

Speaking at the news conference along with Schwartz were Alfredo López, national coordinator of the July 4 Coalition; Dave Dellinger of *Seven Days* magazine; Dave McReynolds of the War Resisters League; José Alberto

Alvarez of the Puerto Rican Socialist party; and Pauline Hayes of the International Indian Treaty Council, United Nations office.

Alfredo López explained that Schwartz's subpoena is only the latest in a series of government attempts to harass coalition activists and link the July 4 protest to violence and terrorism.

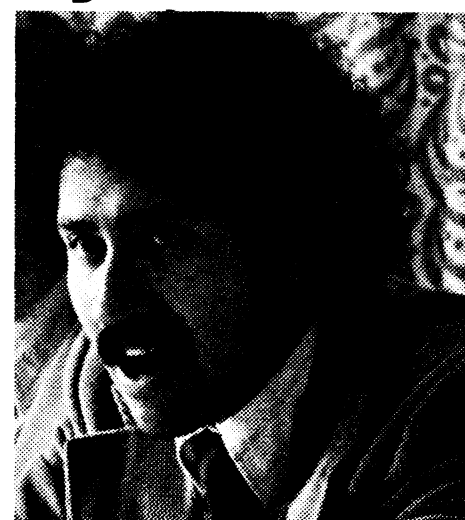
López and many other activists have been visited by the FBI in recent months, often on the pretext of "investigating" the bombings reportedly carried out by the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional Puertorriqueña (FALN—Armed Forces of Puerto Rican National Liberation).

In addition, López said, FBI agents have visited neighbors, families, and employers of activists working on the demonstration. As in López's case, many of those harassed have been

members of the Puerto Rican Socialist party, the group that initiated the Philadelphia demonstration.

Alfredo López pointed to a recent article by nationally syndicated columnist Jack Anderson as part of the disruption program. Anderson cited "confidential law enforcement reports" to the effect that an international terrorist conspiracy—including the PSP—has targeted the official bicentennial activities "as their next battleground." Anderson said that the terrorists' weapons might even include nuclear bombs.

López charged that this was all part of a systematic campaign "to discredit the demonstrations and the movement." He reiterated, as organizers of the demonstration have done repeatedly, that their protest will be a "massive, orderly demonstration."



Militant/José Pérez

Alfredo López, PSP leader and national coordinator of July 4 Coalition, denounces government campaign of harassment at May 28 news conference.

Prop. I on ballot June 8

S.F. unionists say 'Vote yes on child care'

By Carole Seligman

SAN FRANCISCO—On the June 8 ballot here will be an issue of more vital interest to working people than the lackluster Democratic and Republican primaries.

Voters are being asked to vote for a second time on a referendum that made it city policy to provide "low-cost, quality childcare . . . to all San Francisco children."

Proposition I, originally passed in 1973 as Proposition M, was placed on the ballot this time by San Francisco's big-business community acting through the board of supervisors. Fearing that a second mandate for an extensive child-care program will seriously jeopardize the status quo in the city, they are counting on scare tactics and a low voter turnout—traditional in primary elections—to defeat the measure.

Major newspapers and TV and radio stations have come out with sharp attacks on Proposition I. Like city officials, they say that the expense of the child-care program would bankrupt the city and force a big tax hike, especially for small homeowners.

For example, an editorial in the May 4 *San Francisco Chronicle* stated, "By turning down Proposition I, San Francisco voters will rid the city of a monetary albatross. They will save taxpayers almost \$90 million a year, and the federal and state governments in the neighborhood of \$100 million."

The coalition organizing support for Proposition I, the Yes on Childcare Committee, is responding with the theme "Tax the rich, not the poor."

In a statement appearing in the handbook sent out to all registered voters, coalition leaders Pat Crawford and Sylvia Weinstein explain that the revenues should not come from small homeowners. Instead they propose: "San Francisco banks, corporations, insurance companies and large busi-

nesses (many who have been making record profits) do not pay their fair share in taxes. Their property is scandalously underassessed by the City. . . . We have every right to expect them to contribute to the community they benefit from."

Because the city comptroller has made the fraudulent claim that the taxes of small homeowners will have to be raised, child-care proponents sued to get the proposition off the ballot. On May 27 Superior Court Judge Byron Arnold refused to rule on the evidence and declared that the comptroller's statement was legal.

While the decision is being appealed to the California Supreme Court, child-care supporters are focusing their main energies on bringing out the largest possible "yes" vote on June 8.

They are holding meetings with

parents at the existing child-care centers and attending community meetings, such as the recent gathering of the Public Housing Tenants Association. This group, most of whose members are Black, is composed of the representatives of all the public housing projects. One tenant leader is translating a "vote yes" leaflet into Chinese and organizing its distribution in Chinatown.

Arlene Rubenstein, the office manager for the committee, reports that more than 30,000 trilingual leaflets (in Spanish, English, and Tagalog, spoken by Filipinos) have been distributed along with more than 10,000 house posters.

Proposition I has drawn support from organized labor:

- Both teachers unions, the San Francisco Classroom Teachers Association

and the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, are members of the committee and have printed up brochures and posters, which delegates are distributing at each school.

- The local chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women has endorsed the measure. CLUW President Joan Dillon, also president of Service Employees International Union Local 400, spoke at a committee news conference.

- Business agents from SEIU and shop stewards from the Transport Workers Union are distributing leaflets to union members.

- The painters union has donated funds to the Yes on Childcare Committee and collections have been taken at meetings of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the United Transport Union.

- Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 3's newsletter is urging members to vote "yes." Shop stewards are posting leaflets in downtown office buildings and are leafleting workers and shoppers.

- The San Francisco Labor Council is publicizing its endorsement of Proposition I through its newspaper, *North California Labor*.

The *Bay Guardian*, an influential weekly newspaper, has endorsed the proposition.

As for the liberal politicians who previously gave lip-service support to child care, they are standing on the sidelines—if they haven't already gone over to the other side completely.

Coalition spokespersons Sylvia Weinstein and Linda Festa, vice-president of the San Francisco chapter of the National Organization for Women, have been speaking on radio programs. A local television station is broadcasting a debate between Weinstein and Supervisor Terry Francois, a leading child-care opponent.



Militant/Susan Muysenberg

Portland socialists say:

'We intend to be where things are happening'

By Pat Galligan

"We intend to be where things are happening," said Stacey Seigle, explaining the attitude of the Portland, Oregon, Socialist Workers party.

Well, this spring proved they mean business. The SWP in that city shifted into high gear.

For ten successive weeks, the Portland SWP and the Portland State

University chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance bettered their combined sales goal of 175 copies. (The goal dropped to 100 the last week of the drive.) They also reached their target of 100 subscriptions.

Socialist Campaign Week in March, which launched the national circulation effort, also marked the kick-off of the mayoral campaign of George Kontanis. It was a drizzly weekend in Portland. But that didn't stop socialist canvassers from showering the city with almost 10,000 pieces of campaign literature, selling 204 single copies of the *Militant* and signing up fifty new subscribers.

The success of that week generated enthusiasm that fueled the circulation drive throughout the spring.

We talked to Stacey Seigle and Richard Beetle. Seigle is the organizer of the SWP branch. Beetle is a new member of the party.

How do they account for the good sales in Portland? Both stressed two aspects of the SWP's involvement in the political life of the city: the party's activity in behalf of Dennis Banks and other Native Americans on trial there this spring. And socialist campaigning in Albina, Portland's Black community.

"One striking feature about the spring drive was our sales at events like the recent Native American support demonstration of 500 people," said Seigle. "We sold 150 *Militants* there."

"We helped publicize the rallies," Beetle added. "And the *Militant* has a reputation not only for its coverage of Native American struggles, but for its general antiracist perspective."

Portland socialists campaigned for Kontanis and the national Socialist Workers party ticket all spring. Much of their canvassing door to door and on the streets took place in the Black community.

"That's where the Kontanis campaign received the warmest response," Seigle explained. "And that's where *Militant* sales were consistently the

highest—up to seventy copies per week."

Beetle agreed. At his usual sales spot at the Safeway supermarket, Beetle has built up a regular clientele and signed up a number of subscribers. Why do people buy the paper?

"People in this community like the *Militant's* coverage of the situation in Boston—They know they can get the facts in the *Militant*," he said.

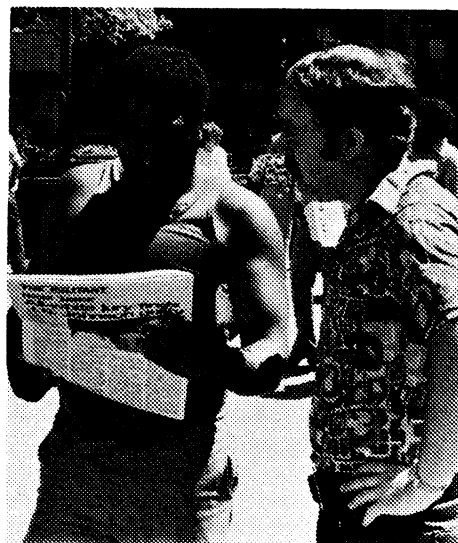
Beetle ended on an optimistic note. "Another thing I've noticed is a real open response to socialist ideas in general. More people are beginning to see socialism as an alternative."

The successful sales in Portland's Black community helped influence the socialists to move their local headquarters.

"What has become clear to us is that our political work is centered in the Black community," concluded Seigle. "It doesn't make any sense to have our headquarters downtown. So we're moving."

Like the woman said, "We intend to be where things are happening."

As we go to press, the results from the last days of the subscription drive are still coming in. So far, we have received 4,800 subscriptions. That number includes 53 sold at the National Chicano Forum in Salt Lake City on the weekend of May 29. The final subscription scoreboard will be printed next week.



Prospective customer looks over 'Militant'. Militant/Kathy Whitley

Sales scoreboard

City	Goal	Sold last week	%
Cincinnati	75	101	135
San Jose	125	154	123
Baltimore	90	91	101
Chicago	350	350	100
New Orleans	175	175	100
Portland, Ore.	100	100	100
St. Paul	75	75	100
Pittsburgh	200	190	95
Milwaukee	125	111	89
Los Angeles	675	579	86
Oakland, Calif.	150	123	82
St. Louis	200	154	77
Atlanta	175	135	77
Berkeley, Calif.	150	100	67
Cleveland	175	96	55
Newark	150	83	55
Minneapolis	225	118	52
Seattle	160	77	48
San Francisco	270	94	35
Total	3,500	2,906	83

Cleveland forum weighs issues

Steelworkers speak out for union democracy

By Chris Rayson

CLEVELAND—"It hurts like hell to have my local taken away," Chuck Kronik said. "And if you love your local like we love ours, it really hurts."

Kronik is head of the Safety and Health Committee of Local 1157, United Steelworkers of America. He was speaking along with other steelworker activists at the Militant Forum here May 21. The topic was "Issues Facing the Steelworkers."

Other speakers included John Barbero, vice-president of USWA Local 1462 in Youngstown; Robert Green, an executive board member of Local 1157 and a member of the Nation of Islam; and Cameron Childress, a steward in Local 1157.

The meeting was chaired by Paula Savich, a steelworker at Jones & Laughlin who is running for United States Congress, Twenty-first District, on the Socialist Workers party ticket.

Kronik talked about the recent suspension of Local 1157's entire elected leadership by the top officials of the USWA. (See article below.)

"All this came up after the local elections," Kronik said, criticizing the undemocratic nature of the suspensions. "To this day I've never been notified officially that I've been suspended. It was Republic Steel that told me I was no longer chairman of Safety and Health."

The events at Local 1157 highlighted

the main issue discussed at the forum: the lack of democracy in the USWA and what steelworkers can do about it.

Cameron Childress pointed out that from the regime of Philip Murray, first president of the USWA, to that of I.W. Abel today, "the whole history of the steelworkers union is that everything is decided on top and forced down on the membership."

"The fight for democracy, for rank-and-file control over our union, is the most important issue facing steelworkers," Childress stated.

He urged support to the Steelworkers Fight Back movement initiated by Ed Sadlowski, director of USWA District 31 (the Chicago-Gary steel belt). Sad-

lowski won the district directorship in 1974 by defeating the Abel machine's candidate.

In recent local union elections in District 31, Sadlowski supporters scored impressive victories in the big steel mills. This show of support enhances the likelihood that Sadlowski will run for the USWA presidency next year.

Childress pointed out that a victory for union democracy in the steelworkers would have repercussions throughout the labor movement.

"Sادلowski points out that the most fundamental rights of labor—the right to bargain, to strike, to elementary job security—are being threatened," Childress added. "If these rights are not effectively defended a terrible defeat will be suffered by working people in this country."

John Barbero is a veteran of many years in the USWA. He participated in the dues protest movement of 1956-57 that signaled membership discontent with the dictatorial regime of President David McDonald. Some of these activists, Barbero among them, later founded a dissident caucus called Rank And File Team (RAFT).

Barbero was one of many steelworkers to challenge the constitutionality of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed by Abel in 1973 giving up the right to strike. The no-strike deal was reached without approval of the union's executive board, much less the membership.

Court challenges to the no-strike pact were rejected. This meant in effect, Barbero said, "that international officers do not have to keep their word or follow the union constitution and that no union member has the constitutional right to strike."

Also discussed was the issue of discrimination against women and Blacks in hiring and upgrading, and the consent decree between the USWA and the steel corporations that supposedly corrects such discrimination.

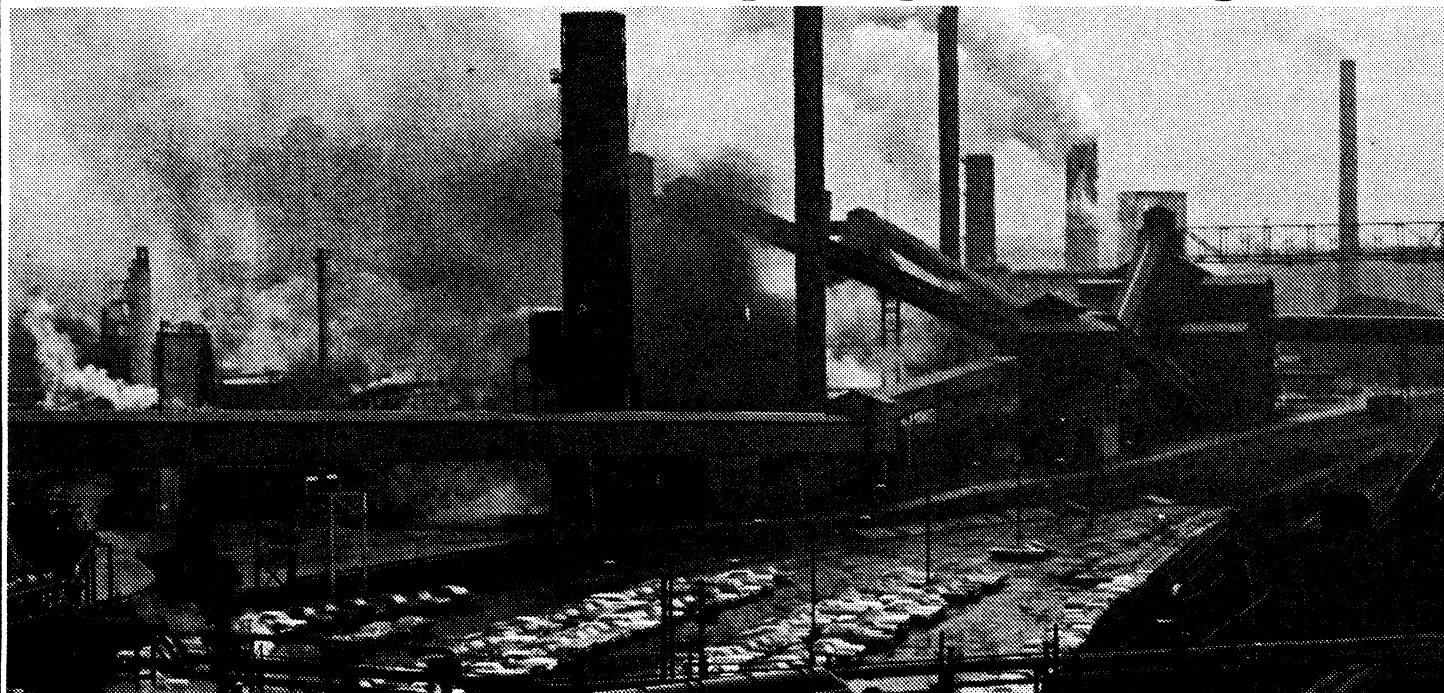
Childress stated that Black workers still predominate in the extremely hazardous coke plant at Republic Steel. "They can't even get a white foreman to work in the coke plant," he said. "That's the only place you'll find Blacks as foremen."

Robert Green agreed. "The company has ninety different ways to say, 'You can't have this job, nigger.'"

Green recounted his own work experience at Republic. After more than twenty years in the steel mills, Green only recently became a pipe fitter's helper—an apprentice in a craft job.

A few years ago he was accepted for electrician's training. But he faced so much racist harassment from the foremen and white workers that he was forced back to general labor.

'Political, racial' purge charged



Republic Steel plant in Cleveland, where elected union leadership was ousted by district officials

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

CLEVELAND—The elected leadership of Local 1157, United Steelworkers of America, was suspended and the local placed in receivership May 17 by District Director Joseph Kender.

The 1,800-member local is based at Republic Steel in Cleveland.

Kender's action effectively fires all representatives of Local 1157, including stewards, and places the local under the administration of a trustee from the USWA international office in Pittsburgh.

The district office has made allegations of financial irregularities by Local 1157 officers. But local union leaders told the May 21 Militant Forum here that no formal charges

have been lodged against anyone.

The suspension is thus in direct violation of the USWA constitution, which stipulates that charges must be filed and investigated before disciplinary action is taken.

Robert Green, Local 1157 executive board member, and Chuck Kronik, head of the health and safety committee, told the forum that the suspension is aimed at the Black president of the local, Al Forney.

Forney easily won reelection in April along with his entire slate. He has maintained his independence from Kender's district office and has been known to criticize the policies of the top USWA officialdom. For-

ney has been mentioned as a possible candidate for Kender's post as district director.

In a statement to the *Cleveland Press* May 23, Forney called the suspension "politically and racially motivated."

Kronik said that wild rumors are being circulated in the mill that local leaders have embezzled thousands of dollars. One story has Kronik the owner of a \$40,000 yacht.

"I'd like to know where that yacht is," Kronik said. "I'm posting my W-2 [tax] forms because I've got nothing to hide. It's the international that's pulling a fast one, and we have to bug Pittsburgh, smoke Pittsburgh about it." —C.R.

One steel local's fight for an honest election

By Andy Rose

When some steelworkers in Local 65 decided it was time for the membership to start running their union, they knew they were in for a fight.

Local 65 covers U.S. Steel's giant South Works in South Chicago. It's Ed Sadlowski's home local. Many of these workers had campaigned for Sadlowski when he challenged Sam Evett, handpicked candidate of the national union bureaucracy, for district director in 1972-73.

They had learned how hard it can be to get the required nominations from 18 of the district's 350 locals—if the bureaucrats have the only address lists and you can't even find half the locals.

They had leafleted and talked and argued outside plant gates for months, only to see Sadlowski's election victory stolen by vote fraud.

They had worked for months more proving the election had been rigged, and they finally secured a Labor Department-supervised rerun in 1974. This time Sadlowski triumphed by a two-to-one margin.

Now they and others like them were fielding slates in local elections throughout the district. John Chico, Sadlowski's former campaign manager, would run for Local 65 president against incumbent Frank Mirocha, a machine stalwart.

Chico charged Mirocha with "iron fist" control over the local and with failure to stand up for the members.

"Because of the hard times and short workweeks and many people laid off," Chico explained, "the company appears to be embarking on a program under which it can discipline a man on the job almost indiscriminately."

This wasn't so unusual, he said. What was unusual was for the union to "look the other way when the company openly and repeatedly violates the contract."

The local would tell workers to file a grievance if they saw the contract violated, Chico said, "but every week twenty-five or thirty guys show up at the hall with the same problems they had the week before and nothing's been done."

Chico also scored Mirocha for supporting the no-strike deal between steelworkers President I.W. Abel and the corporations.

Interest in this campaign ran high. More than 700 steelworkers jammed into the local's hall for the April 14 meeting that was to approve an election committee and nominations for offices.

Mirocha read off his list of election judges and declared it "approved."

No other nominations were allowed.

No stand-up vote was allowed.

The meeting turned into pandemonium.

When Chico was nominated for president, Mirocha started yelling, "Are you a Communist or a member of any totalitarian organization?"

Mirocha's heavy-handed conduct backfired, steelworkers said afterwards. "I've never seen such an outraged membership in all the years I've attended meetings," said Don Jordan. "I don't know what Mirocha expects to gain by pulling such stunts, but I'm sure he lost a lot of votes right there."

Ethel Livingston commented, "When everyone was saying they wanted to

Continued on page 30

Hands off Lebanon!

On June 1, the Syrian army invaded Lebanon. The Syrian troops, estimated by Palestinian guerrillas to number 5,000, bolstered other Syrian-backed forces in Lebanon in support of the Maronite Christian minority in Lebanon's civil war.

This minority is attempting to perpetuate its privileged position in Lebanon's government at the expense of the Moslem majority.

Right-wing Christian forces fear the alliance that exists between the Lebanese Moslem population and the 300,000 Palestinians who have been forced to take refuge in that country.

By invading Lebanon, Syria's president Hafez Assad has not only struck a blow against the struggle of the Lebanese workers and farmers for their democratic rights, he has also sharply increased the threat that the civil war might escalate into a wider war by providing a pretext for an Israeli invasion.

The Syrian invasion followed a weekend during which more than 160 persons were reported to have been killed and about 400 wounded following virtually nonstop artillery duels and gun battles.

The fighting, according to the May 31 *New York Times*, left Lebanese president-elect Elias Sarkis "deeply pessimistic" over prospects for negotiating a settlement that would preserve rule by the Christian minority.

This assessment may have been what motivated Assad to send his troops across the border. Fearing the emergence of a more radical, pro-Palestinian regime in Lebanon, Assad has for months been seeking through limited military and political maneuvers to prop up the sagging minority government there.

The June 1 invasion was a further step in this direction. Syrian troops took positions aimed at establishing a road link between rightist positions in Lebanon and Damascus, the Syrian capital. Moreover, Syrian troops have undertaken to reconstitute a nucleus of the deeply split Lebanese army—one that would be reliable in carrying out moves against the Palestinians and the Moslem leftists.

Assad's anti-Palestinian moves have recently sparked protests within Syria, despite that country's repressive regime. In view of this, Assad's invasion of Lebanon is a gamble that may result in a sharpening of internal struggle at home.

Washington immediately signaled its approval of Assad's move. The U.S. rulers hope the current Syrian invasion can deal blows to leftist Moslem and Palestinian forces. At least for now, Washington would like to forestall an Israeli counterattack.

The Zionists, who for months have staged attacks on Palestinian settlements in Lebanon, no doubt will find the Syrian invasion an inviting pretext to launch their own attack in pursuit of Israel's long-sought goal of a "more secure border" with Lebanon.

Such an Israeli move would upset Washington's negotiations aimed at defusing the explosive threat to imperialist interests in the Middle East posed by the struggle for self-determination of the Palestinians. Moreover, an Israeli invasion would signal the danger of direct U.S. military intervention to back up its settler-colonial client.

The Palestinians have sought to capitalize on the wide support for their struggle as a political weapon for use against the Syrian invasion. According to the June 2 *New York Times*, a Palestine Liberation Organization radio broadcast, "in the harshest language it has ever used about Syria, implicitly appealed to Syrian soldiers to mutiny."

Unfortunately, Lebanese Moslem leftist leader Kamal Jumbatt's immediate reaction to the Syrian invasion was different. Jumblatt was quoted as having asked for French diplomatic and political assistance to defend Lebanese independence.

But reliance on France can only lead to a disaster for the Lebanese freedom fighters. The Syrian invasion of Lebanon is a move aimed at bolstering the Maronite Christian minority rule first installed under French colonial rule. The French, along with the U.S. and Israeli governments, seek to preserve this regime as an obstacle to the unfolding of the Palestinian struggle in particular and the Arab revolution as a whole.

What is needed now is an outcry from all supporters of the Arab revolution:

Syria out of Lebanon!

No Israeli intervention!

U.S. Hands off the Middle East!

Good reaction in Robstown

I am writing to express my thanks for the excellent article by Harry Ring in the May 14, 1976, issue of your paper. The article on our struggle here in Robstown, Texas, was very well written and it is refreshing to have someone print what you actually said.

Not like most of the media who twist everything so that it reads different.

The reaction to your article here among our people has been very good, and I am writing to request that, if it is possible, you send me five extra copies of the May 14, 1976, issue.

Again let me reiterate what I said before, that we of the Familias Unidas of Robstown are pleased with your article. Keep up the good work.

Ricardo Gutiérrez

Robstown, Texas

Convoy for ERA

It is often pointed out that Equal Rights Amendment supporters number in the millions. In fact, they constitute the majority of Americans, men and women.

This reality was graphically illustrated May 16 in Springfield, Illinois, when thousands of supporters of women's rights from all over the country marched and rallied at the state capitol there.

It was further illustrated following the march when Indiana supporters were heading home from the action. The lead car in the Hoosier caravan (the "front door") was equipped with a citizens band radio.

Amid periodic "bear reports" (reports from truck drivers on the location of state police) a clear voice suddenly piped in on the radio. The conversation that took place proceeded as follows:

"Breaker one-nine for the four-wheeler in front."

"Go ahead, breaker."

"What's the ERA on your bumper sticker stand for?"

"Equal Rights Amendment for women. We're on our way back from a march in Springfield to ratify the ERA, 'come on.'"

"Does that mean I can't open doors for my wife?"

"No, good buddy, it simply means she gets equal pay for equal work for one thing."

A third voice comes in—it's female: "Breaker one-nine for the equal rights lady. I saw you all marching at the capitol. I'm with you 100 percent, 'come on.'"

"Ten-four, sister; right on! And put the hammer down, Smokey's nowhere in sight."

David Ellis

Indianapolis, Indiana

A spiral of tragedy & war

In his address to the American Jewish Committee on May 13, President Ford reiterated, among other things, that the United States would increase its efforts to "restore emigration" of Jews from the Soviet Union. Such a policy has only negative consequences.

While there is nothing wrong with spontaneous emigration, most of the emigrants in this case are induced to settle in Palestine and replace the Palestinian people whom the Israelis have excised, and whose land and property the Israelis took possession of.

The meaning of this is clear: no repatriation of the Palestinians. Instead, there will be increasing pressure on the Israelis to expand, expel more natives, and expropriate

more land and property.

Moreover, persecution in one country is not fought by emigration for the persecution of other people.

Solzhenitsyn was for once right when he urged that the Jews stay in Russia to fight persecution and discrimination along with the other minorities living there. The world will be much richer when all the people of the Soviet Union live according to the principles of freedom and equality.

Let it be borne in mind that the frantic efforts on the part of the Zionists and politicians to make of Jewish emigration out of Russia and into Palestine a system, an industry, lead only to more frantic efforts to suppress justice in both countries, and in the Near East, to perpetuate and intensify a spiral of tragedy and war.

Isa Musa

Arlington, Virginia

Logan likes Banks coverage

We have especially appreciated the articles on Dennis Banks's defense case.

Glen Swanson

Logan, Utah

It really does get around

I received today from your office a note regarding a former student of mine in Lebanon who had seen a letter of mine printed in the *Militant* on April 23, and wanted to be put in touch with me.

I thank you for sending me his address—I am surprised and pleased to find he reads the *Militant*! It really does get around.

T.S.

Princeton, New Jersey

'The Dispossessed'

It was pleasant to see the *Militant* carry a review by Linda Jenness of Ursula K. Le Guin's novel *The Dispossessed* [May 21 issue].

However, Jenness demeans this novel when she tells readers simply that it is a "fun" book. It may be, *but it is also a serious work of literature* that deserves to be ranked above many contemporary novels accorded far more fanfare by critics and publishers.

The novel painfully articulates the author's profound insight into the enormous waste, loss, and misery attending class society's subjugation of women. And it offers her vision of what sexual equality will mean, socially and—in "the bond" between Shevek and Tavrak—personally, in communist society. The book is a deeply moving expression of socialist-feminist aspirations.

(And, reading the novel, one suspects without being certain that Le Guin defines her outlook in just such terms.)

To describe so magnificent a work of fiction as "fun" does the gifted creator of the work an injustice. And comparing it to Evelyn Reed's *Woman's Evolution* is entirely beside the point; it is like comparing Brecht to Trotsky.

Lee Smith

New York, New York

Stalinist 'mistakes'

Readers of the *Militant* might be interested in some sweeping admissions made recently by Jack Kling, former national treasurer and current Illinois-Iowa cochairperson of the American Communist party.

As part of a course at the University of Chicago on the history of the American left, guest speaker Kling agreed, after some close questioning, that the CP had made some "mistakes" in the past.

In covering only the World War II period Kling stated that among these "mistakes" were the following:

The overnight zig-zags in the CP policy following first the August 1939 Stalin-Hitler pact and then the June 1941 Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union; the CP's wholehearted support to the government's 1941 Smith Act prosecution of leaders of the Socialist Workers party and the Minneapolis Teamsters union; the CP's expulsion of all its Japanese members and its support to Roosevelt's "internment" of Japanese-Americans in California concentration camps during the war; and the CP's unconditional support for a wartime, and postwar, no-strike pledge in the labor movement.

After all that we were left wondering what was not a "mistake."

Garrett Brown
Chicago, Illinois

FBI's 'ghetto informants'

I read with interest your recent article on the Church congressional committee report on government spying and other attacks [*Militant*, May 21].

While the article was most informative, there is one point that must be corrected: You stated that by 1972 the FBI had more than 7,000 Black informers. However, the FBI has admitted to the *New York Times* to having 1,500 informers in our communities and having spent over \$7 million for their "upkeep" and as bribes.

I thought this correction should be noted. Keep up the good work.

A prisoner
Georgia

[Editor's note—The figure 7,000 that was used was taken from the *Final Report of the Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations*, book two, published in April 1976. The section regarding this figure reads as follows:

["The number of ghetto informants expanded rapidly: 4,067 in 1969 and 7,402 by 1972. The original concept was to establish a 'listening post' by recruiting a person 'who lives or works in a ghetto area' to provide information regarding the 'racial situation' and 'racial activities.'"]

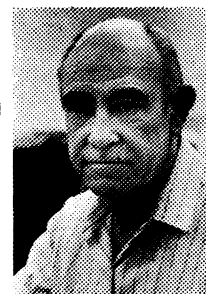
["Such informants could include 'the proprietor of a candy store or barber shop.' As the program developed, however, ghetto informants were:

["utilized to attend public meetings held by extremists, to identify extremists passing through or locating in the ghetto area, to identify purveyors of extremist literature as well as given specific assignments where appropriate.""]

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Happy reunion at LID

[The following guest column was written by Fred Feldman.]

I had the pleasure, if you can call it that, of attending the annual award luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy May 8 at the Hilton Hotel in New York City.

The LID is closely associated with Social Democrats USA. Although its leaders have been known to let slip a few words about socialism in nostalgic moments, the LID's basic purpose is to brighten up the public relations image of the top union brass. The LID has particularly close ties to AFL-CIO President George Meany. Tom Kahn, chairman of the board of the LID, doubles as Meany's secretary.

This year's award went to former U.S. Secretary of Labor John Dunlop. Robert Georgine, president of the AFL-CIO Building and Construction Trades Department, hailed Dunlop as a man of sterling "courage" and "integrity" for leaving the Ford administration last January. Then Dunlop received a standing ovation from the 150 labor officials and their retainers.

What has Dunlop done to merit this accolade? For more than three decades he has served the employers' government as an "impartial" arbitrator. Dunlop became Ford's secretary of labor in March 1975, after a stint as the head of Nixon's wage-freezing Cost of Living Council. Cajoling union bureaucrats into accepting government restrictions on wages while profits and prices climb is Dunlop's specialty.

As secretary of labor, his pet project was the "common situs" bill. This legislation provided for an extension of the picketing rights of striking building-trades unions.

With this as bait, Dunlop won the avid backing of bureaucrats like Georgine for the main provisions of the bill. These created a Construction Industry Collective Bargaining Committee composed of union and company officials, along with government bureaucrats. The committee was to be empowered to take

over contract negotiations, to impose a "cooling off" period to end strikes, and even to reject "exorbitant" wage increases.

The bill sought to undermine the decision-making power of union locals whose comparative successes at the bargaining table had alarmed Dunlop. Quite an example of "industrial democracy"!

When Ford vetoed the bill, under pressure from "right-to-work" forces, Dunlop resigned and returned to his comfortable berth at Harvard. To stay on would have undermined his credibility with the labor officialdom and thus ended his usefulness to the employers.

When "common situs" was vetoed, Meany and the building-trades officials walked off the President's Collective Bargaining Committee in Construction. They boycotted another Dunlop brainchild, the Labor-Management Committee, which had brought together top leaders of labor and industry to discuss government policy on labor and the economy. The best-known activity of this body was its lobbying for tax cuts for business.

The bureaucrats expressed their anger by promising an all-out effort to elect a Democratic president in 1976. This struck no fear into the ruling circles, who know that whichever capitalist politician is elected will continue Ford's antilabor policies.

Today the Labor-Management Committee is back in operation, although now formally independent of the government. According to A.H. Raskin in the May 7 *New York Times*, "What brought the panel back to life was private word sent to Mr. Dunlop . . . that both sides valued the rapport they had established within the committee."

Perhaps the LID luncheon was intended to celebrate the happy reunion. Their salute to this enemy of working people signaled the labor officialdom's readiness to yield more ground to the bosses' offensive against wages and working conditions—if only the bludgeon is applied with a little finesse.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



Black Democratic caucus

BOSTON—I was not there, but reading the newspapers on the national Black Democratic caucus meeting in Charlotte, North Carolina, over the May 1 weekend gave me the impression that there were several hundred Black Ponce de Leons running around down there in search of a political fountain of youth. Looking for something, anything that would rejuvenate the image of Black elected officials in the Black community; looking for something, anything to stir the Democratic party's concern for Blacks.

But after three days there was not much to show for it. No new commitment by the Democratic party to Black needs. No fountain of youth. Not even the rediscovery of Florida.

"To me, it turned out to be the same old thing, no real accomplishments, making me wonder if this meeting was necessary," one attendee said.

A high point of the weekend was the appearance of four Democratic presidential contenders—Morris Udall, Jimmy Carter, Frank Church, and Jerry Brown.

The four were questioned by a panel. Yes, we are opposed to a high rate of unemployment; yes, we think people are entitled to decent health care; yes, we think Blacks should be in governmental office, the candidates all said, leaping tall buildings with a single bound.

"We didn't get the commitment we wanted," one New York delegate complained. Others also griped that the candidates were vague and the questions easy.

Basil Paterson, the Black vice-chairperson of the Democratic National Committee and an organizer of the weekend gathering, was—publicly, at least—effusive over its results. "Twelve years ago," he said,

"Blacks gathered in Charlotte, North Carolina, to sit in at lunch counters. Today we gathered to choose a presidential candidate."

Others were more sober. Of front-runner Carter, California Democrat Ron Dellums said, "We may be too late. His campaign managers are going to be saying [to him], 'You got this far being ambiguous [to Blacks], why change?'"

Mayor A.J. Cooper of Pritchard, Alabama, said of Carter, "There's deep concern about that 'ethnic purity' remark, and about his tendency to say one thing one day, and another thing another day to another group."

Indeed, the problem of trying to coax the Democratic party and its presidential candidates into relating to Black needs remains as tough as ever for these Black Democratic leaders. But it remains a task they are required to pursue.

Meanwhile, the fact that Black needs continue to be ignored is creating a situation in the Black community that makes it much more difficult for Black Democrats to generate zeal for this or that Democratic candidate.

And when the community begins to understand that Black Democratic elected officials, despite their growth in numbers in recent years, have failed to deliver as individuals and have failed to influence the Democratic party, then the necessity of Black political action in opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties will come to be seen.

"The problems of Black Americans have not been addressed by any of the candidates for president this year," Gary, Indiana, Mayor Richard Hatcher said at the gathering. "Our people are desperate."

(More on the national Black Democratic caucus meeting next week)

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Helping hand—The media had fun pointing out that Ford pumped so many hands while stumping in Michigan that he even shook hands with his daughter. Actually he simply grabbed her hand when he stumbled.

That explains it—"Telling the truth is the secret to good government."—President Ford.

Not so dumb—In the mid-1950s, the CIA had a security problem with a pending tax probe of its front company, Air America. It decided to let the investigation proceed and see what would be learned. The Internal Revenue Service examining agent was later told the company's true identity. He

commented: "Well, I knew there was something there and I thought what a wonderful thing it would be for the Russians to have, but I came to the conclusion it was Rockefeller money."

Sturdy critters—Those concerned that the polluters will eliminate lower forms of animal life can relax. A *Harper's* article said that as far back as 1960 researchers reported that fifteen common types of fungi and bacteria had acquired tastes for jet aircraft fuel, other fungi had learned to dine on missile and rocket parts, and still others doted on radioactive debris.

Note to N.Y. straphangers—Brooklyn College researchers subjected a group of rats with high blood



"Ethnic purity!" THAT'S the phrase I've been looking for!

pressure to the equivalent of a twice-a-day, five-day-a-week subway ride. They were put in crowded, vibrating cages with a tape recorder providing appropriate accompanying din. Four of the twenty-five rats subjected to this normal commuter schedule died in sixteen weeks.

Thanks to the great white father—S.I. Hayakawa, the cop-happy ex-president of San Francisco State College now seeking the Republican senatorial nomination, advised the Japanese-American Club of Southern California that the World War II internment of Japanese-Americans did more good than harm. He said it helped break them out of the traditional Japanese family domination by a "tyrannical father."

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



From overalls to aprons

It's no accident that Congress has decided to strip child-care centers of their funds at the same time women are being pushed out of the labor market. The two go hand in hand.

Of course, the Democrats and Republicans see it a little differently than we do. The way they tell it, women were lucky over the past decade to get into the labor force and earn a little money. The country was rich enough to provide some child care so women could hold down their jobs. But now things are different, they tell us.

"We've been living beyond our means for too long, so now we'll have to pay for it."

"Women can't be allowed to take men's jobs."

"Luxuries like child care are just out of the question today."

These hypocritical arguments are meant to gloss over the reality of the capitalist system and the role it assigns to women. Women are part of the "reserve army of labor," by which Marxists mean the mass of superexploited workers—female, Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano—who are shunted in and out of the labor market as the ups and downs of the profit system demand.

Because women's "natural" place is supposed to be in the home, we are especially vulnerable during a recession. To see how we are manipulated, we

need only look back at World War II. During the war, the male workers who went to the front were replaced by women, who took on heavy, industrial, "unfeminine" jobs. The female work force increased by four million.

The only way the capitalists could get enough women into the war-production factories was to provide child-care facilities. This was done with lightning speed. Special legislation, known as the Lanham Act, was passed in Congress giving an initial \$150 million for day care. Eventually, 1.6 million children were in day-care centers so that their mothers could work.

A propaganda campaign accompanied all this, depicting women in industry as "heroines" and "patriots," and explaining that child care is good for the development of children. No one breathed a word about women's place being in the home, or the "family-weakening implications" of child care.

These child-care centers were an example of what the government can do if there's profit to be made or a war to be won. The centers offered infirmaries, meal preparation services, mending services, libraries, toys, and teachers.

Some centers were also set up by private industry. The Kaiser Shipbuilding Corporation in Portland, Oregon, ran two child-care centers during the war,

both of them open twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

Then the war ended. Soldiers began to return home. Suddenly the "heroines" in industry were heroines no more. The salutary effects of child care evaporated overnight. Women were laid off by the thousands. Most government-run day-care centers closed down within months, but not without angry protests by working mothers.

The image of women in the media switched again. Now we were supposed to be relieved to get out of the dirty factories so we could revel in the glories of cleaning house. The *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, for example, wrote in 1945 that women workers "will be glad to swap their factory overalls for kitchen aprons."

Most women weren't glad at all, but without child care many had no choice but to return to the home.

The same is true today. Millions of women who want to work, who *must* work to keep their families alive, are being driven out of the labor force and sent back to the welfare lines, the unemployment offices, and the home.

The capitalist politicians like to call it "equality of sacrifice." But for working women, it is another example of the ruthless effects of a system run for profits, not to serve human needs.

Their Government

Nancy Cole



...of the rich, by the rich, for the rich

WASHINGTON—Millionaires make up a minuscule segment of the population in the country as a whole. But here on Capitol Hill, they're holding their own.

Despite stiff resistance to any laws or regulations that would require disclosure of the financial holdings of members of Congress, reporters have dug up the goods on a few of the "people's representatives."

The *New York Times* has verified that there at least twenty-two millionaires in the House and twenty-two in the Senate. *U.S. News & World Report* came up with a total of thirty-three who "do not deny" they are millionaires. Sixteen are Democrats, sixteen Republicans, and one's an "independent." The *Times* lists at least twelve other congresspeople who are not known for sure to be millionaires, but are believed to be worth more than \$500,000.

And in case you're wondering what they think

about as they vote on all those federal regulations and budget allocations, here are some other interesting statistics: Ninety-eight members of Congress hold regular or reserve military commissions. In 1973, there were 113 House members with financial interests in banks. Sixty-six had stock in companies on the list of the 100 biggest defense contractors.

Some of those questioned by *U.S. News* explained that they didn't really know how rich they are. Sen. Abraham Ribicoff offered the philosophical comment, "I am a man of substance, but I do not consider myself to be a millionaire." Like it's a state of mind.

What he really means is that he doesn't want the voters to "consider" him a millionaire, and with good reason. There's a healthy distrust of rich politicians among the American people.

Capitalist candidates go to great lengths to appear as "just one of the guys." And aside from those who can't hide it, like Rockefeller and

Kennedy, the others would just as soon have the people back home think they get along on their measly \$44,625 a year.

Asked if he thought his money got in the way of representing his constituents, millionaire Sen. Charles Percy from Illinois replied in the negative. "I've been as poor as anyone. I grew up in the days when they shut off your lights if you didn't pay the bill. They threw you out if you didn't pay the rent."

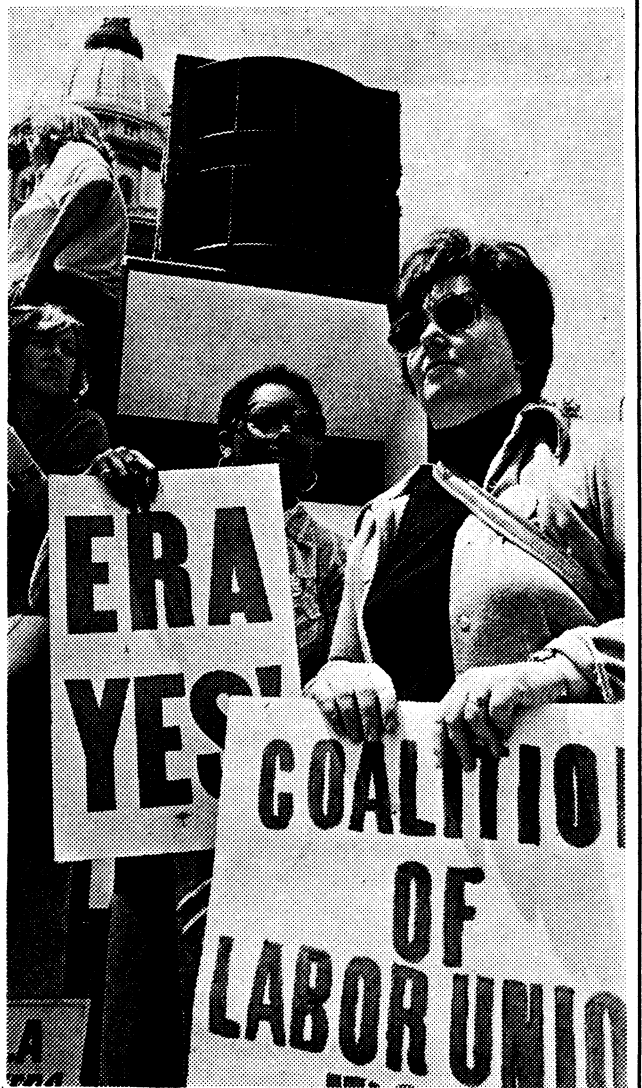
Illinois workers will be relieved to hear that such barbaric practices are a thing of the past.

Percy claimed that no voter has ever asked about his money, but if they did, he pledged to ask, "Do you want to be represented by a failure—someone who never showed he could manage?"

Rep. Millicent Fenwick says she can sympathize with the poorer voters despite her millions. The proof: "Oh, I've sat in the wretched kitchens of the poor and wondered how they ever survive," she said.



Militant/Pat Hayes



Militant/Jean Vertheim

May 16 march shows ROAD TO ERA VICTORY

By Ginny Hildebrand

The National Rally for Equal Rights in Springfield, Illinois, was a milestone in the fight for women's equality.

The more than 8,000 demonstrators who marched for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) made May 16 the largest women's liberation action since August 26, 1970. On that date 50,000 demonstrated in cities around the country in commemoration of the winning of women's suffrage.

The unprecedented turnout in August 1970 put the women's liberation movement on the political map of this country. It demonstrated that feminist goals had struck a responsive chord among thousands and thousands of women.

Six years later, the May 16 demonstration shows that the women's liberation struggle is entering a new stage, involving significant layers of women never before active—especially working women—in the fight for equal rights.

Step forward in ERA fight

Following the stinging defeat of state ERA referenda in New York and New Jersey last November, May 16 marks a major step forward for the pro-ERA struggle. First of all, it succeeded in focusing national attention on this issue and what ERA proponents are saying.

This was one of the goals announced by the National Organization for Women when it called for the march. NOW recognized that the eyes of the entire country had to be turned toward the ERA in order to put pressure on the Illinois and other state legislatures still holding back on ratification.

This had not been accomplished by the years of behind-the-scenes lobbying. Nor by the annual efforts to simply elect enough "pro-ERA" Democrats and Republicans. This strategy had failed. The ERA ratification process slowed down to a virtual halt. Meanwhile, Phyllis Schlafly and her STOP ERA forces captured the public spotlight.

The need for a massive education and action campaign for the ERA became more and more clear. And the turnout on May 16 has now confirmed that such a campaign is possible.

Millions of people saw the demonstration on national television news. Newspapers from coast to coast gave sympathetic coverage. And the demonstrators themselves spread the word to

thousands—recounting their inspiring experience to friends and co-workers.

This publicity had a powerful effect. It was a strong antitoxin to one of the most poisonous lies of the anti-ERA forces—their claim that ERA supporters represent a narrow, elitist group of "women's libbers" who have no concern for the average housewife, working woman, or Black woman.

The defeats in New York and New Jersey seemed to give credence to this myth. But on May 16 there was visible evidence that the majority of Americans do support the ERA. That majority sentiment was represented by the women and men unionists who marched, the students, housewives, Blacks, Democrats, socialists, independents, and Republicans. They were all in plain view, marching together to make one united statement: "We represent the majority and the majority demands ERA now!"

This stood in contrast to the miserable turnout of 400 anti-ERA demonstrators April 27 in Springfield, organized by STOP ERA.

May 16 received endorsement from

the broadest scope of organizations united for women's rights since the suffrage movement.

United action

It united for the first time in several years many of the diverse currents in the women's liberation movement, as well as women's organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the YWCA.

The most significant new forces in the streets that day were the contingents of trade unionists.

A wide range of local unions endorsed the march. This reflected the deep support among working women and men for the ERA. It also signified the labor movement's realization that the enemies of equal rights for women are also anti-Black and anti-labor—a common enemy requiring a united counteroffensive.

In addition to endorsing the march, some union locals set up ERA committees, publicized May 16 among the membership, contributed funds, and organized buses to Springfield. The United Auto Workers sent seven buses

to the march. Substantial delegations also came from the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the American Federation of Teachers.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women played an important role in helping to mobilize labor support behind the march. The CLUW National Executive Board endorsed the action, in keeping with CLUW's constitution, which states: "Until final ratification of the ERA is won, CLUW will make the fight for the ERA a priority through a mass-action and educational campaign."

CLUW set up an office in NOW's national rally organizing center, and several local CLUW chapters joined in the May 16 effort by soliciting union endorsements and funds, and organizing buses of trade unionists. This activity set an important example of how CLUW can mobilize union power behind women's needs.

In addition to its immediate impact, May 16 also provides an example and inspiration for the next step in this battle.

Continued on page 30

Labor joins equal rights fight

[Labor support has been an important part of this spring's action campaign for ERA ratification. Below are statements by three prominent union officials committing themselves to the ongoing ERA fight.]

This message was sent by Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers, to the May 16 Springfield rally.

"The gathering of thousands of persons on the steps of the Illinois Capitol building to demand ratification of the ERA sends forth a message throughout the land. We want, we need, we insist upon ratification. If necessary we will march to every statehouse in the nation to raise our voices. The American Federation of Teachers pledges to continue its effort until ratification is won."

Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, sent the following message to the Springfield

rally.

"From time to time, great issues compel people to leave their homes and petition their government. The ERA is such an issue and I salute the women's movement which has been tireless in its efforts to win equality. Our union, and the entire American Labor Movement have been strengthened by the growing number of union women who have joined our ranks in recent years and brought us all a renewed sense of commitment to the fight for justice and the eradication of all forms of sexism. We stand with you today in Illinois, and we will be with you until victory comes."

Tom Turner, president of the Metro-Detroit AFL-CIO, was among the speakers at a May 11 labor rally for the ERA in Detroit sponsored by the Wayne County Coalition of Labor Union Women. A portion of his remarks follows.

"On behalf of the national AFL-CIO and George Meany, I pledge the full backing and resources of the

national and Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO to the fight to ratify the ERA. I will join you in going to Springfield this Sunday if my schedule permits.

"Two hundred years ago, the Revolutionary War was fought for freedom and equality. The fight for the ERA is the same fight.

"The people who are trying to discredit the ERA will find out quickly what side we're on. If we search under their outer cover, underneath lies the hatred and anti-union bigotry of the 'right to work' forces. Phyllis Schlafly [leader of STOP ERA] was a drummer for Goldwater; we know who's paying her freight. The 'right to work' forces see the opportunity to divide the union movement by pitting women against men. The AFL-CIO will not let them get away with it. We'll be at your side.

"We can win this fight as we have won others if we stick together, men and women, Black and white.

"Organize well, campaign hard, and victory will be yours and ours."

Linked to FBI, CIA crimes

Socialists demand that 'red squad' testify

By Diane Rupp

The Socialist Workers party suit against the government is beginning to probe to new depths—the New York Police Department.

A fight is brewing over whether officials from the notorious New York red squad will have to testify on their work with the FBI in burglaries and other crimes against the socialists.

The socialists subpoenaed the cops after the release of FBI documents detailing ninety-two FBI burglaries of SWP and Young Socialist Alliance offices. FBI memos on the break-ins included the cryptic remark, "Security will be assured." Who else besides the NYPD could assure security for these burglaries? the socialists asked.

The cops objected to answering any questions. And, they said, if they were forced to testify, their answers should be kept secret from the public and the press.

Deputy Chief James Meehan, commanding officer of the NYPD Intelligence Division, told the court he could not find anything in police files about work with the FBI or CIA. He claimed he checked the "most likely source."

Meehan also asked supervisors in his command what they knew. "Each and every man . . . stated there was no participation or cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation or any other federal agency in any criminal activity," Meehan reported back. Each one "assured" him they knew nothing.

"We must blink at reality to believe that there were absolutely no links between the [FBI] and the NYPD," responded Michael Krinsky, an attorney for the socialists, in a brief submitted in answer to the cops.

Closer look at red squad

Frank Donner, an expert on police spying, agreed. Donner heads the Project on Political Intelligence for the American Civil Liberties Union. He says the police often watch a place being broken into to be sure federal agents aren't interrupted or seen.

Other experiences confirm suspicions that Meehan is hushing up the New York cops' collusion with illegal activities of the FBI.

In 1969 and 1970, the ultrarightist Legion of Justice staged several armed attacks on the SWP and YSA in Chicago. They clubbed and maced socialists, and stole tape recordings and files.

In 1975 some former members of this terrorist outfit admitted under oath that the cops had been involved in every step of their operation. They also testified that the 113th Military Intelligence Group paid the Legion of Justice



New York cops in action against antiwar protester, 1967. Red squad wages war against trade unions, Black groups, and anyone else they label 'subversive.'

for papers stolen from the socialists and other political groups.

More often than not, when the FBI or some other federal agency has some real dirty work to do, they will call in the local cops. These thugs in blue may not be as sophisticated as Big Brother in Washington. But they know how to fight dirty and they aren't bound by even the formal rules and regulations that govern the sprawling FBI bureaucracy.

Of all the municipal red squads in the country, New York's is among the most hated. For decades it has waged war against the trade unions, the Black movement, and radical organizations.

During the 1960s New York's red squad carried out about 1,000 major investigations each year. About one-third of these were routine assignments such as preparing for visiting dignitaries. But about 300 of its investigations were aimed at trade unions. The other one-third were directed against "subversives."

Club against labor

"Strikes—job actions—work stoppages, labor disputes." The procedure manual for New York's intelligence unit puts these first on the list of things to be dealt with.

Anthony Bouza, a member of New York's red squad for eight years, gave classes for visiting police on how the intelligence unit works. In 1968 he wrote an informal guidebook on New

York's intelligence unit.

Bouza explains that the cops first started spying on labor in the 1920s because they feared "the Trojan Horse of Communism" in the trade unions.

Today the red squad directs its operations at every strike involving a hundred workers or more. Their excuse is that cops must prepare to cope with "dislocations" that strikes cause.

Bouza says cops should find out the "personality and character" of union leaders. And they must know when unions are pushing for what he calls "outlandish demands."

The NYPD is armed with laws that can smash any strike they choose. For example, cops can stop strikers from gathering in "unreasonable numbers," using "offensive language," or carrying "untruthful signs."

Investigating "subversives" is "the most important responsibility of the unit, the one that requires the greatest expenditure of time and effort," says Bouza.

He points to the Nation of Islam and proindependence Puerto Rican groups as "obvious targets because they seek 'to overturn the government or fragment it.'"

Attorney Barbara Handschu, members of the War Resisters League, and other activists have sued the New York red squad, charging illegal harassment and spying. Testifying in this suit, the cops freely admitted they keep track of such groups as the NAACP and the War Resisters League, even though

these groups aren't involved in any illegal activity.

But "no adverse reference should be drawn" just because these groups are on file, the cops added. After all, the NYPD has gathered a file of one million cards on individuals and groups.

Strike force against Blacks

The red squad has made newspaper headlines with their racist operations against the Black movement.

In 1965 the "Black Liberation Front" was charged with plotting to bomb the Statue of Liberty. During the trial it came out that Raymond Wood, a police agent, had first proposed the plan.

In 1967 police claimed to have foiled a plot by the Revolutionary Action Movement to assassinate Black leaders such as Roy Wilkins. It turned out that four of the sixteen involved in this scheme were NYPD agents. In fact, it was a cop who had written the assassination note and planned the getaway.

Another assassination plot the cops were apparently involved in was the murder of Malcolm X on February 21, 1965.

Several undercover cops were at the scene when Malcolm X was killed. Bouza reveals that the red squad had foreseen the "strong possibility" of the murder at least two weeks before it happened.

After the murder police quickly told the press that they had offered Malcolm X protection. But when Betty Shabazz, Malcolm's widow, heard the police commissioner's claim she said, "That's a lie."

Work with FBI and CIA

"It simply staggers the imagination" to suggest the NYPD knew nothing of the FBI burglaries, the socialists say in legal papers seeking to force the cops to testify in their suit.

The socialists point to a report on the FBI done by the General Accounting Office for the U.S. Congress. Of the FBI cases studied, 77 percent used information from state and local police. When the GAO talked to local officials, they found it is common practice not to put anything in writing when trading information between the FBI and cops. "The exchange is informal—usually a verbal exchange between agents," says the government report.

This confirms what NYPD police said when testifying in the Handschu case. Michael Willis, a captain in the red squad from 1966 to 1969, admitted that the NYPD did have a "working relationship" with the FBI.

And Capt. Robert Burke, currently in the intelligence unit, described how they share information: "Again it is nothing from the file. It may be something that is common knowledge."

The federal agencies nurture ties with local red squads through training courses. In 1972, for example, the CIA trained city cops on the latest techniques in keeping political files. Twelve New York cops, including several from the intelligence unit, took the CIA course.

Police sources admitted to the New York Daily News last June 13 that "the CIA was no stranger to police operations." During the 1960s the CIA carried out "selected burglaries" against supporters of the Cuban revolution. "The unwritten word," one detective said, was that cops would not investigate the CIA break-ins.

If the socialists can compel the NYPD to testify in court, we may be able to find what the "unwritten word" was for helping with FBI burglaries.



175 agents at work

Judge tells FBI: speed release of socialist files

By Diane Rupp

The FBI has some 175 agents working full time in its New York office preparing new files to turn over to the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. The agents are going through an estimated 1,000 volumes, "sanitizing" the pages to be released.

In addition, government attorneys have said there are fifteen to twenty-five cartons of secret files being sent from Washington.

At a court hearing on May 28 Leonard Boudin, attorney for the socialists, argued forcefully that, in the face of the huge number of files not yet turned over, the case cannot go to trial on July 1, as originally scheduled.

To rush to trial before all the evidence is out, said Boudin, "would have the effect of seriously prejudicing our case."

U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, who is hearing the case, agreed that the trial cannot begin without substantially more preparation. He ordered pretrial work speeded up. This includes government compliance with his previous orders to provide documents from its files on the SWP and YSA.

Griesa said that on July 1 he wants to begin an intensive period of hearings and legal arguments on the broad range of issues raised by this landmark suit. The attorneys for the SWP and the YSA don't expect the trial to begin before the fall.

At previous hearings government lawyers had complained about the



FBI offices in New York City. Government has 175 agents working here full time to delete evidence of illegal FBI acts from socialist files.

burden of combing through the files on SWP members.

The judge then ordered the FBI to provide everything in its files on only thirty-five members. He said that the files on these members would provide a general indication of what is in the files on all SWP members.

However, the government is still complaining that the files are too massive to be turned over entirely.

William Brandt, one of the government attorneys, tried to explain the

FBI's difficulty to Griesa at a hearing on May 24:

Judge. What is the problem, then?

Brandt. The enormity of the files. Assuming it is done—

Judge. On thirty-five people, they have an enormity of files?

Brandt. Yes, Your Honor.

Judge. Why?

Brandt. Well, Your Honor, I guess that is the nature of the lawsuit.

Judge. How big is a file on one person?

Brandt. It depends on the individual.

Judge. Give me an example. . . . Do you have a file drawer on each person?

Brandt. It is more than that, Your Honor.

Judge. On each person?

Brandt. On a gentleman like [SWP presidential candidate Peter] Camejo, it is more than a drawer, more like an entire file.

Griesa apparently found the scope of these files on socialists incredible. He went down to the FBI office himself to see the 175 agents in action.

The reason for so much work preparing the files, the government claims, is the need to censor out any information that would identify informers. About 95 percent of its information on the SWP comes from informers, the FBI says. However, files already released indicate the agents are busy deleting not only the names of informers but anything in the records that points to illegal activity or would otherwise embarrass the government.

In addition to records on the thirty-five members, the socialists are insisting that the government produce documents on wiretaps, opening of mail addressed to the SWP or YSA, use of the news media to slander socialists, CIA records on the Fourth International, and other files.

This is all in addition to about 15,000 pages the government just turned over to the socialists. These files still are being read and evaluated by attorneys for the case and the staff of the Political Rights Defense Fund.

'National security' ruled no excuse for burglary

By Diane Rupp

The U.S. Court of Appeals has rejected the argument that "national security" justifies government burglaries. The ruling upheld the conviction of John Ehrlichman for organizing the 1971 break-in at the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

The Justice Department had submitted a friend-of-the-court brief claiming that illegal break-ins are justified when "foreign espionage or intelligence" is involved.

The right to protection against illegal government searches, the court majority said, cannot "be sacrificed on the altar of security." The ruling is a blow to any plans the government may have to defend the FBI burglaries of

Socialist Workers party offices.

Ehrlichman was convicted for organizing the gang that broke into the office of Dr. Lewis Fielding. The White House hoped to find personal secrets about Ellsberg that would embarrass the antiwar movement. Or, as one Nixon aide put it, "We might be able to put this bastard into a hell of a situation and discredit the New Left."

In another court suit on illegal government spying, the CIA was caught in a lie. The Justice Department had to ask a San Francisco federal judge to reopen a case when documents came out showing the spy agency had made false statements in court.

The case involved a suit by a woman who charged that the CIA had illegally opened her mail. The CIA denied the charge, saying the woman's name did not appear in their index.

The judge ruled in favor of the CIA, saying he was sure they had "responded in good faith and with total honesty."

But after the ruling, the CIA found it had made a filing "mistake." It was wrong when it claimed that every mail opening was shown on its index. The agency had made microfilm copies of a million additional letters, which had not been indexed.

And in a third court case still another government lie came to light.

The FBI claimed they had produced all files about Lori Paton, a high school student who is suing the government. But in March another memorandum by the FBI agent who had investigated Paton turned up.

The FBI had begun an investigation of the high school student when she wrote to the Socialist Workers party for information for a school project. Paton sued the government for \$65,000.

J. Wallace LaPrade, former head of the New Jersey FBI, had falsely testified twice that he had turned over all material about Paton. Nevertheless, the judge decided against holding LaPrade in contempt of court for withholding evidence.

Black residents battle D.C. housing speculators

By Erich Martel

WASHINGTON—The right to a decent home is not enjoyed by many lower-income Americans. But real estate speculators often make things even worse.

Profiteers in this city have a long history of buying up whole neighborhoods where most of the buildings are rented to lower-income families. After fancy renovation, the rent is doubled or tripled. Or, a house is sold at a huge profit to a wealthy customer desiring an "attractive townhouse right in the city." The original, usually Black, residents are forced out.

That's the way formerly all-Black neighborhoods such as Georgetown, Capitol Hill, and Southwest rapidly became almost all-white, forcing the former residents to search elsewhere for housing.

Right now the hottest real estate in Washington is the Adams-Morgan neighborhood. Seaton Street is in this area. Early this March Centre Prop-

erties bought thirty properties here for between \$11,500 and \$20,000 each.

The new owners plan to renovate the houses and resell them for about \$65,000 each. The current residents, all Black, have received eviction notices.

It might have been the same old story: Furniture on the sidewalk. Bewildered children. A search for a new apartment. And, probably worst of all, just the humiliation of being pushed around. But this time things are different.

Seaton Street is fighting back.

As eighty-two-year-old Thomas Washington said after being served an eviction notice, "Ain't no little piece of paper going to scare me away."

Twenty-three tenants have gone to court and sued for possession of their homes. A section of the D.C. rent-control law requires an owner to first offer to sell a building to the current residents.

Leading the struggle to save Seaton Street is the Adams Morgan Organiza-

tion.

On May 19, AMO, the City-wide Housing Coalition, and others organized a mass meeting of 200 people to demand that the D.C. government take action against the speculators and halt the weakening of the city's rent-control law.

The *Militant* talked to two AMO leaders—Executive Director John Jones and Housing Task Force Chairperson Marie Nahikian.

What is AMO doing to stop the Seaton Street evictions?

"The fight has taken several levels," Nahikian replied. "We've filed discrimination suits, we organize tenant unions, we have legislation pending in city council to tax speculators. The effort to save rent control is also important."

Jones added, "We firmly believe that if we had a law on the books like the speculation tax bill—which has been pending in the city council for over a year—this would not have occurred on

Seaton Street."

The bill calls for taxing speculation profits.

What can supporters do to help this struggle?

"We need publicity and money," Jones said. "We need to advertise the wrongdoing that is being perpetrated on Seaton Street so that people in positions around the city can see that they can take similar kinds of action to guarantee their right to life and livelihood."

Nahikian thinks the Seaton Street struggle is an important example.

"The people on Seaton Street are taking a stand that clearly shows people in the city, particularly Black people, people of lower and moderate income, that they can make a stand," she explained, "that they can have a right to have some control over their lives and where they live."

AMO's offices are at 2431 Eighteenth Street N.W. Telephone: (202) 332-2628.

SWP leader answers gov't

'We aim to win the majority of people to socialism'

[Following are excerpts from testimony by Jack Barnes under questioning by government lawyers. Barnes is national secretary of the Socialist Workers party.]

[About a dozen SWP members have been called by the government to give pretrial testimony, or depositions, in the socialists' suit against the FBI and other secret police agencies.]

[The Militant will print additional excerpts from Barnes's testimony in the future.]

[Barnes's deposition was recorded by a court reporter. We have condensed it and corrected the transcript where words or phrases were garbled.]

[Barnes was questioned by John Siffert, a United States attorney.]

Question. What is your present title?

Answer. I'm the national secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

Q. Are you also a national committee member?

A. I'm a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party, and a member of the political committee of the party.

Q. Have you also authored?

A. I have authored many things.

Q. Several books?

A. Yes. I will turn over to you the books which have the main resolutions of the Socialist Workers party, some of which I have authored, and major speeches I have given. This is the earliest one, *Towards an American Socialist Revolution*.

Q. We will have that marked as Exhibit 1.

A. This is the second one, *A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s*.

Q. We will have that marked as Exhibit 2.

A. This is *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*, which includes two items. One, an article by me entitled "The Unfolding New World Situation." And two, a resolution submitted to the world Trotskyist movement, which I reported on at the last world congress of the Fourth International in 1974.

Q. That will be Exhibit 3.

A. Finally, I have a book that has just been published. It is *Prospects for Socialism in America*. It includes several reports presented by me and adopted by the Socialist Workers party or its elected leading committees, plus the major resolution of the Socialist Workers party adopted at its last convention.

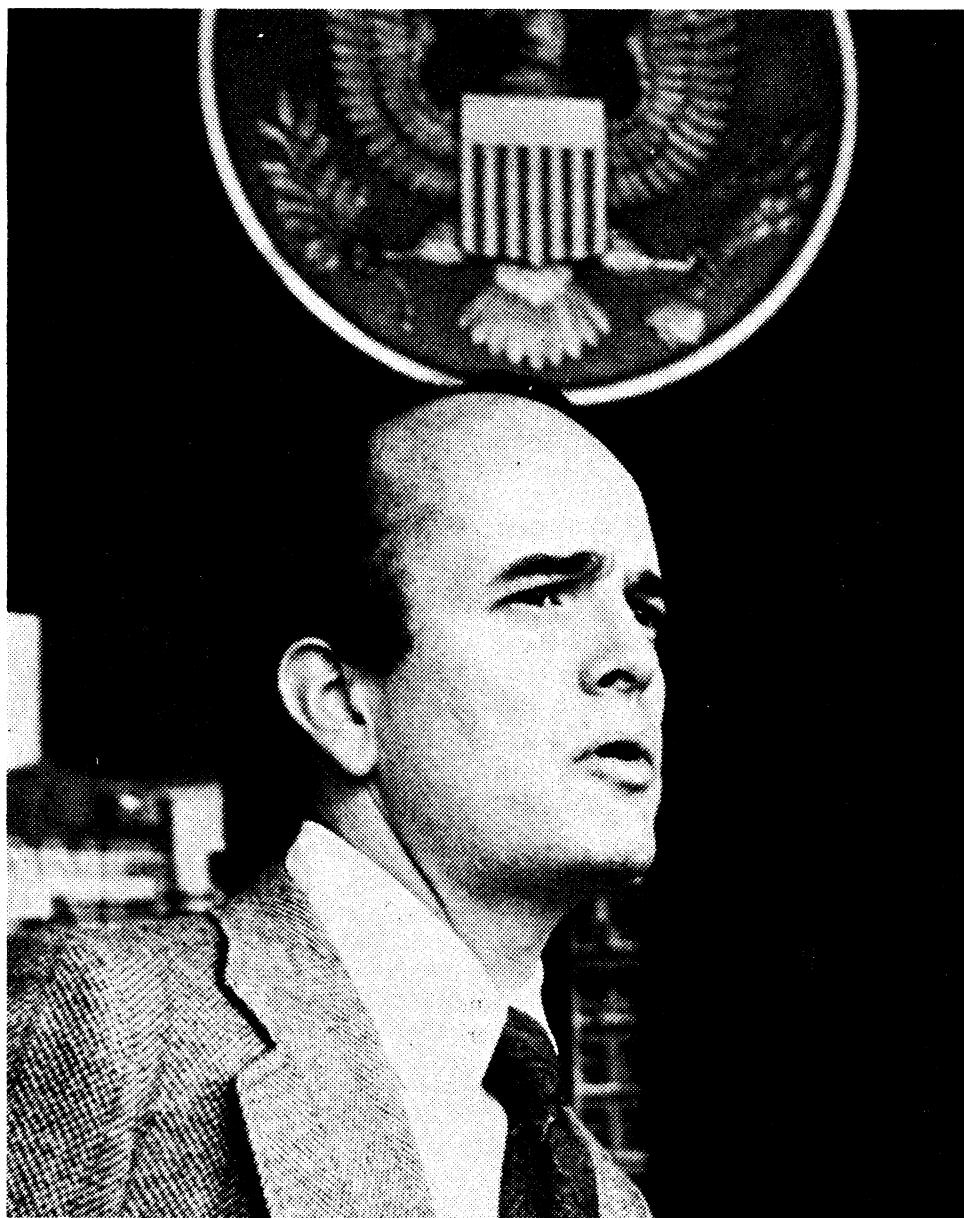
Q. We will ask that that be marked Exhibit 4.

Do you run political candidates?

A. The Socialist Workers party runs political candidates in federal, state, and local elections in the United States, yes.

Book of lies

Q. Didn't you say at one time the following, in an article entitled "'Independent' Campaigns and the Tactic of Critical Support": "Finally, we use our campaigns for the openings it gives us in the press and radio, the opportunity to reach the ears of millions of Americans. We educate and blast away at the illusion woven by the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois politicians. We don't run our campaign to get votes."?



Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, outside federal courthouse in New York

A. Yes, if this is accurate. You are reading it from . . .

Q. Is that accurate?

A. Just a minute. You are reading from a thing called the *Trotskyite Terrorist International*.

Q. It is the Church committee.

A. It is not.

Q. It is the testimony before the Eastland committee? [The testimony was given before a witch-hunting subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by James Eastland. For a review of *Trotskyite Terrorist International*, see the *Militant*, March 12, 1976.]

A. That is correct. Would you please get into the record who is saying I said that in there?

Q. That is Mr. [Herbert] Romerstein, head of the Friends of the FBI, I believe. Did you say that?

A. I do not know. I would have to go back and look at a transcript of it, but I could well have said something like that.

I was addressing myself to many of the things you could do in running for public office even if you didn't get elected. Political parties often begin with the full knowledge the odds are overwhelmingly against them being elected to public offices. They often begin with great obstacles in running for office, onerous requirements for getting on the ballot, harassment, things like this.

Nevertheless, they run for office, not because they will get a lot of votes or be elected, but because by presenting

their ideas to the electorate over an extensive period of time, they will begin getting the support of the people, hopefully the majority of the people in this country.

I should add—I am not trying to be argumentative. The reason I want to be very clear about this is that this particular book you are referring to, the *Trotskyite Terrorist International*—which is not the Church committee—is filled with falsehoods, untrue statements, falsifications of all kinds. I don't think a book has ever been written, other than the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which is more filled with falsehoods in every single page.

Q. You don't think this book is accurate?

A. I would go much further than not being accurate. I consider this book to be part of the process of harassment and intimidation of the Socialist Workers party and its supporters. This book is printed by the government, it is sold throughout the United States. We have no chance to correct any of these statements in it, yet it is circulated around the country.

Q. The book is not on trial.

A. It should be. At least Mr. Romerstein should be.

Q. Do you foresee a situation in the United States to be one that the socialist revolution you espouse to inevitably require extralegal action to take place?

A. The socialist revolution that I espouse is a revolution in property relations and in relations among

human beings. It is not a revolution having to do necessarily with violence. I hope and strive for it to be as peaceful as possible, because I think this is in the interests of building socialism, and in the interest of the great majority of the American people.

Illegal, sometimes violent, arbitrary, even fascistlike acts have often been committed by minorities in history. I would not be at all surprised if they are committed by the American ruling class if they find themselves in the face of the socialist majority. I anticipate that.

If I am proven wrong, I would be a very happy person, because it means progressive social change in this country would be more painless. But I cannot vouch for the intentions of the American ruling class. I can only state what history shows people like them do when faced with declining support by the majority of the population.

Who causes violence?

Q. What is your evaluation of the possibilities of violence being involved in the social revolution that you speak of?

A. I would say the main factor that would lead one to say there is a high probability that sections of the American ruling class will use illegal and extraparliamentary violence to try to maintain their hold after the majority wishes to pass beyond the system is the extreme use of violence they have resorted to in the past—the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the war of genocide against the Vietnamese people.

Those are events in recent history that show they are not unwilling to resort to the most outrageous violence.

As a politician who seeks progressive change and wants it to be as painless as possible, it is also my responsibility to point out these lessons of history to the American people and urge them to study them and learn from them.

Q. Have you heard the expression "social reform" being used in connection with defining what the Socialist Workers party is not?

A. No, I have never heard that. But I would say that the Socialist Workers party is not a party that believes social



'I consider the American ruling powerful, and most cruel in h
'The war of genocide against
willing to resort to the most

reform in and of itself can reach socialism. It does not believe that. It believes it takes a social revolution, a complete revolution of the property forms, to reach socialism.

But at the same time it believes it is correct and necessary to fight for reforms, using all the means available to the population. We are for such reforms as the right to organize unions, the right to be bused to a school if you're a Black person, and the right to have equal protection under the law if you are a woman.

Q. In connection with this achievement of socialism through the social revolution, you expressed, as I understand it, and correct me if I am wrong, that your evaluation is that it is highly likely that the social revolution in this country will occur through violence because the ruling class will hold onto its privileges? Is that a fair statement of your position?

A. No. It is not precise.

What history shows

Q. I am referring to your answer to [earlier written] interrogatories in which the government had asked whether you as Marxists and Trotskyists are preparing yourselves for an inevitable violent revolution in the United States and you referred to *Socialism on Trial*, the book, pages 36 through 37 which I will now show you.

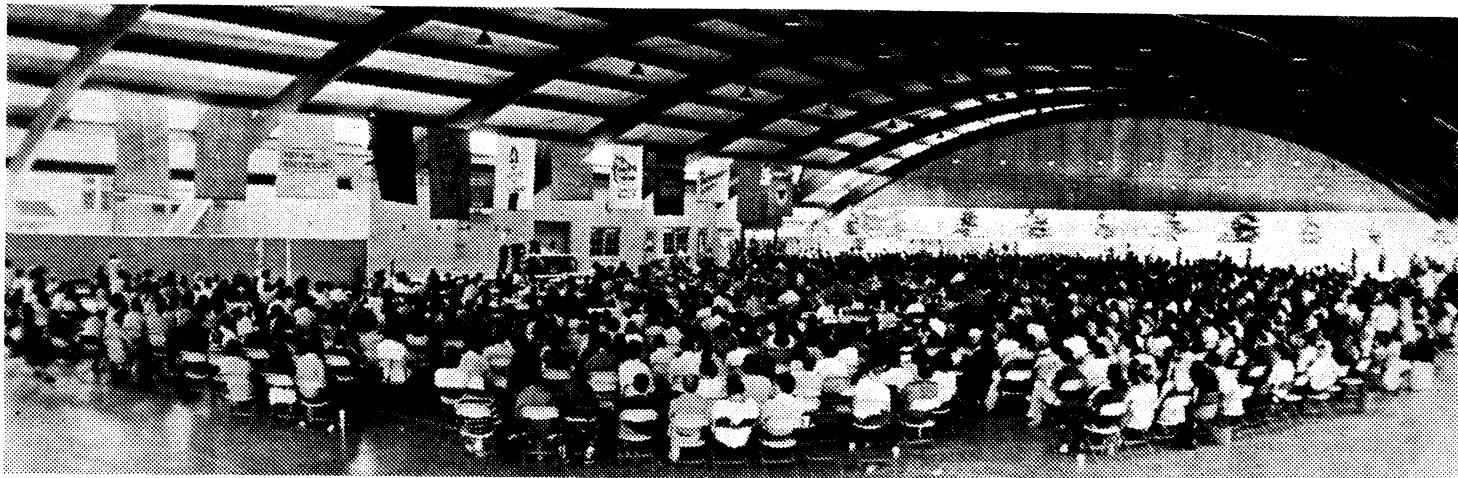
A. Yes, these pages of *Socialism on Trial* are a fair statement of what my personal opinion would also be about what history teaches.

The question is, What is the opinion of a Marxist with reference to the change in the social order as far as its being accompanied—it is very important, the word “accompanied”—or not accompanied by violence? You don't bring about a social revolution by violence. A social revolution is a change in the relations among people, which is not a violent thing. [Quoting from James P. Cannon's testimony in *Socialism on Trial*:] “It is the opinion of all Marxists that it will be accompanied by violence. Why? That is based, like all Marxist doctrine, on a study of history, the historical experiences of mankind in the numerous changes of society from one form to another, the revolutions which accompanied it, and the resistance which the outlived classes invariably put up against the new order. Their attempt to defend themselves against the new order, or to suppress by violence the movement for the new order, has resulted in every important social transformation up to now being accompanied by violence.”

That is simply a statement of the whole historical record of class society up to now.

Q. Is it fair to say that that is the opinion of the Socialist Workers party?

A. It would be my estimate that the American ruling class—which I



Militant/Henry Snipper

‘The SWP is a democratic organization. The national convention decides its tactics and elects its leadership.’

consider the most rapacious, most powerful, and most cruel of the ruling classes in the history of class society—can also be expected to go outside the bounds of the Constitution, outside the law, to organize extralegal bands of an armed variety to prevent progressive social change.

My expectation is there is a high probability they will do that.

Socialist defense policy

Q. Did you at any time use the expression “defense strategy”?

A. I have used that term many times.

Q. What did you mean by that?

A. When I have used it, if I remember correctly, I was referring to the strategy that revolutionaries use in defending their rights in the courts of the United States.

Q. I am sorry?

A. Defending their rights in the courts in the United States.

Q. So you weren't referring to the defense of the inevitable violence that will accompany the revolution?

A. No, Mr. Siffert. One of your researchers should tell you, one of the central books we read is entitled *Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial*. It is a debate between James P. Cannon and Grandizo Munis in which Cannon explains the strategy followed by the Socialist Workers party when faced with indictment under the Smith Act in the early 1940s. If you don't have this book, you should request it.

Q. When you talk about the social revolution as a means to socialism, are you now intending to implement that socialist revolution?

A. There is no way anyone can implement the socialist revolution short of winning the majority of the people. We are a small minority party.

Winning the majority

Q. What are the means of getting the majority?

A. The main way to win a majority of the people is, first, to explain over and over again the ideas of socialism. We explain the events and contradictions in a capitalist society as they transpire and the need for a social transformation.

Second, we take part in all the movements for social change, in the labor movement, among Black people, Chicano people, Puerto Ricans, women fighting for their rights. We are part of the struggles championing the demands they are fighting for, and we argue for the need for a socialist solution.

There is no other way to do it. A person talking about establishing socialism without winning a majority is either a fool or a provocateur. It cannot come about through a plot or through sheer ruse. It cannot come about through a putsch or anything like that.

It is a complete change in the most basic social relations. It means winning a great majority of the people, establishing a government committed to this kind of change, leading the

people to establish workers councils and other democratic bodies to organize this change, and to implement this change on the economic, political, and legal fronts.

Q. You referred to the process by which the Socialist Workers party adopts resolutions. Could you describe that?

A. Certainly. Prior to conventions of the Socialist Workers party, the political committee drafts resolutions on various events of importance in the world and the United States.

The committee submits these drafts to a meeting of the national committee. The national committee discusses amendments, changes, and clarifications, and adopts or rejects the proposed resolution.

If it is adopted it is then, with the suggested amendments and changes, published in the discussion bulletin of the Socialist Workers party for the entire membership. The Socialist Workers party is a democratic organization. All materials of that sort are circulated to the party membership. And we have a three-month discussion period prior to the convention, during which every member is entitled to discuss his or her opinion.

Amendments or suggestions and criticisms are presented and proposed, counter and alternative resolutions are all published and presented to the entire party. Delegates to the convention are then elected.

Q. By whom?

A. By each of the branches of the Socialist Workers party. At the convention a reporter presents the proposed resolution, and, once again, there is discussion. At the end, the convention votes whether or not to adopt the general political line. The party does not take responsibility for each word of every sentence and paragraph, but votes on the basic analysis. Then someone is assigned by the political committee to make the appropriate changes and then the resolution is published.

Q. You have mentioned the Fourth International. Is that constituted in much the similar way as the Socialist Workers party is?

A. No, the Fourth International is organized quite differently than the Socialist Workers party.

Internationalist perspective

Revolutionists believe that you must have an international organization that can share the experiences of revolutionaries in every country and analyze and see the world as a whole, the interrelated developments, and the general trends.

At the same time that this is true, it is the belief of revolutionists that the only way to establish socialism is through the development of socialist parties in each country that present their programs to the workers, develop their own leadership, and win the majority of the people of that country to the socialist perspective.

This cannot take place as a single event on a world scale because the

world is divided into nations and states. Thus, the most important task for an international revolutionary organization is to handle themselves in such a way as to maximize the chances for revolutionary parties to grow and prosper in every single country.

Revolutionists give great importance to the development of the leadership of these parties—who gain experience over a number of years and take part in progressive social movements and win the confidence of more and more of the populace.

Fourth International

Thus, this leads to an organizational conclusion. Unlike the Third International [which degenerated under the influence of Stalinism], the Fourth International believes in democracy. It rejects what became the norm under Stalin, of the telegram or directive from Moscow to parties which were ordered to change their line or their leadership overnight.

This became common in the Communist parties in the 1930s and it is one of the reasons our founders revolted against Stalinism. Trotskyists reject any concept like that. Not because there is some abstract goodness or badness to listening to advice from abroad, but because parties cannot be built unless they develop their own leadership, a leadership that is chosen by and has the confidence of the members.

The structure of the international is different from the party. For instance, the decisions of the international are not binding on members of national parties. In other words, the highest body of a party is its national

Continued on page 30

The exhibits

You can examine for yourself the exhibits referred to in the testimony. The following books and pamphlets are available from Pathfinder Press.

Prospects for Socialism in America. Special sale price: \$1.50. This book includes the major political resolution adopted at the 1975 SWP convention.

Dynamics of World Revolution Today. Cloth \$10.00, paper \$2.25

Towards an American Socialist Revolution. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$1.95

A Revolutionary Strategy for the 70s. Cloth \$4.00, paper \$1.45

Aspects of Socialist Election Policy. Education for Socialists bulletin, \$1.35

Socialism on Trial (includes *Defense Policy in the Minneapolis Trial*). Cloth \$5.00, paper \$2.25

Available from the bookstores listed in the Socialist Directory on page 31 or by mail from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



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Supporting Carter will not bring jobs

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK—The photograph tells a story. There is Leonard Woodcock, the first leader of a major trade union to endorse Jimmy Carter, on one side. Mayor Coleman Young, who is teaching Detroiters that a Black Democrat can fire city workers as fast as a white one, is on Carter's other side.

And the other three gentlemen pictured at the \$500-a-plate Carter fundraising dinner in Detroit are Elliott Estes, president of General Motors; John Riccardo, chairman of the board of Chrysler; and Henry Ford II, head of Ford Motors and scion of one of the world's mightiest financial empires.

Woodcock heads the United Auto Workers union. He knows that the biggest problem for auto workers is jobs. Even though automobile production is increasing, there are still tens of thousands of auto workers who have not been rehired.

But Woodcock's policy of supporting Democrat Carter is not going to help working people get jobs.

"It is time to end the Civil War and bring this country together. . .," Woodcock says in his statement supporting Carter. "There could be no better symbol of reconciliation than to elect a President from the genuine South—the new South—one who listens to the people, instead of the traditional politicians."

Woodcock is saying that Carter is a different breed from George Wallace. When Wallace carried the Michigan Democratic primary in 1972, the UAW did not endorse him. Now, thinking that he is backing a winner, Woodcock makes no mention of Carter's racist antibusing stand or his defense of white "ethnic purity."

Woodcock also leaves out the fact that Georgia, where Carter was governor from 1970 to 1974, is a notorious "right to work" state.

'Right-to-work'

In Georgia, the union shop is illegal. The capitalists pawn this off as a way of guaranteeing "freedom of choice" to workers, but the opposite is true.

As Bayard Rustin emphasizes in the May 15 issue of *AFL-CIO News*, "The only rights [right-to-work laws] provide are the rights of employers to pay lower wages, provide poorer working conditions, and to exploit workers."

"Defended as protecting the right of individuals to work without being compelled to join a union, what the right-to-work laws in fact do is insti-



UAW President Leonard Woodcock (second from left) lines up with bosses in their political party at Detroit rally for Carter. From left, Elliott Estes, GM president; Woodcock; the candidate; Detroit Mayor Coleman Young; John Riccardo, Chrysler chairman; Henry Ford II.

tute a compulsory open shop. They are designed to weaken strong unions, destroy weak unions, and prevent unorganized workers from forming a union."

Rustin is right, although he's talking about Arkansas, not Georgia. It remains to be seen what Rustin will say if Carter gets the Democratic go-ahead.

The fact that Georgia is a "right-to-work" state is one of the things that makes the capitalists like Carter. The open shops in the South not only help keep Southern workers on permanently lower pay scales than their sisters and brothers in the North; it weakens the Northern union movement too, as industries escape to the nonunionized South.

Instead of concealing this issue with rhetoric about the end of the Civil War—can you believe it?—the unions should press to expose Georgia's discriminatory, antiunion treatment of labor, and bring Carter's Democrats to task for it.

Need jobs

Woodcock's main pitch for Carter centers on the question that he knows is uppermost on the minds of many workers. "I believe the crucial issue in the 1976 presidential campaign must be jobs. We need a President who will get America back to work. Jimmy Carter will be that President," Woodcock says, and he offers the following proof:

"When the Democrats left the White House in 1969, America had an unemployment rate of 3.3 per cent. . . . In the eight years since, Mr. Nixon and Mr. Ford have, at times, brought us unemployment of more than 9 per cent."

Do these facts argue in favor of the Democratic party?

In 1969 the United States was at the peak of its murderous attack on Vietnam. Unemployment was low solely because the United States was at war. The only other post-World War II years that saw unemployment in the 3.3 percent range were during the attack on Korea.

And both times—in Korea and Vietnam—when the United States threw its massive military machine against a semicolonial national liberation struggle, Democrats were in the White House.

Humphrey-Hawkins bill

Woodcock brings in, by implication, Carter's endorsement of the Humphrey-Hawkins bill as showing that Carter wants to fight for jobs.

Carter, says Woodcock, "has committed himself to push for a full employment policy that is realistic—a policy that would aim at reducing adult unemployment to 3 per cent in his first term, while keeping the lid on inflation."

The Humphrey-Hawkins bill, which liberals pretend will lower unemployment, does nothing more than assert that there *should* be an unemployment level of 3 percent. It provides no jobs whatsoever. Humphrey himself underlined this in a guest editorial in the May 14 *Washington Post*.

"The principal thrust of the Act is to encourage the creation of job opportunities in private enterprise. . .," Humphrey wrote. "It is *not* a public service jobs proposal." (Humphrey's emphasis.)

Carter is fully aware of this. The irony is that Carter only backed the Humphrey-Hawkins bill when it was explicitly amended *not* to guarantee a 3 percent unemployment level or any jobs at all! Carter explained it to *Business Week* May 3.

They asked him: "You recently endorsed the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill. Why did you wait so long?"

"I didn't approve of it the way it was originally written," answered Carter. "With a mandatory total unemployment goal of 3%, taking in all age groups, most of my economic advisers thought that would mean double-digit inflation."

Carter told *Fortune* magazine, for its May issue, "I think you can go below 5 percent without inflationary pressures. . . . When you get down around 4 percent, perhaps you might. But you're talking about three or four years in the future."

It remains to be seen if the economic recovery will bring unemployment below 7 percent, let alone to 5. Anything in the levels Woodcock is talking about is so imaginative it does not even enter Jimmy Carter's mind—especially when he's talking to the financial press.

Hat in hand

According to the New York *Daily News*, Woodcock presented himself to the Democratic party's platform committee, which was meeting in Washington, D.C., May 18. Said the *News*, "Woodcock called on the committee to declare that the 'great principles and deeply held party commitments' in the platform are 'supreme and preemptive' and are binding on all candidates."

I showed this report to Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo.

"That's the whole point," Camejo said. "Woodcock goes hat in hand to the Democratic officials to beg them to make promises which would be totally worthless if they did make them."

"The only promises the Democrats keep are the ones they make in secret to the owners of the corporations, not to the labor officials or to Blacks. It's the people standing with Woodcock and Young (in the photo) who call the shots in the Democratic party."

"These are the very bosses who fired tens of thousands of auto workers in the past two years—beginning with unskilled Black and women workers—and they left Detroit with the highest big-city unemployment level in the nation in the bargain. These executives live in their Bloomfield Hills mansions and rake in millions of dollars a year."

"Think of it. Here is Woodcock who heads up a union of a million members and Young who could speak for the Black working people of Detroit."

"That's plenty of power, if it was organized on its own, in an independent labor party, outside of the Democratic party and beholden only to the workers."

"You want a politician to keep a promise? That has to be a labor politician, committed to a labor party, who is elected by workers, for workers. No capitalist politicians are going to do it. Woodcock and Young are not helping workers. They are serving the capitalists by leading workers into the Democratic party."

"I'll give you one example," Camejo finished up. "What about the jobs these Democrats say they will bring? Jobs are desperately needed everywhere. So are the schools, hospitals, mass transportation, and so on that the workers could build."

"The Democrats already have a solid majority in Congress—they called it the 'veto-proof' majority. Instead of voting for jobs, they boost spending for weapons for the Pentagon."

"There's only one way to get those jobs out of the capitalist government. It will take a mass struggle, a mass of workers fighting across the country to force the government to provide jobs, not bombers and tanks."

"No union leadership whose first allegiance is to the capitalist Democratic party is going to lead that struggle!"

Camejo ended, "But do you think there's any other way?"



Militant/Susan Ellis

CAMEJO: 'Woodcock and Young are serving the capitalists.'

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

JUNE 11, 1976

3.5 million protest cover-up

Japan's May Day rallies score Lockheed scandal

By Ernest Harsch

The continued furor in Japan over the Lockheed scandal was a prominent element in this year's May Day demonstrations.

According to the May 2 Tokyo *Mainichi Daily News*, about 3.5 million persons attended the May Day rallies, marches, and demonstrations throughout the country. The sponsors of the actions had expected a turnout of 7 million persons, but the weather was poor.

The four major labor federations organized rallies in sixteen prefectures. The central rally, held in Yoyogi Park in Tokyo, was addressed by leaders of the four opposition parties in the Diet (parliament): Tomomi Narita, chairman of the Japan Socialist party (JSP); Sanzo Nosaka, chairman of the Central Committee of the Japan Communist party (JCP); Bunzo Ninomiya, vice-chairman of the Komeito (Clean Government party); and Ikko Kasuga, chairman of the Democratic Socialist party (DSP).

The main slogan of the rally was "Let's protect livelihood, rights and peace through the unity of workers." According to the *Mainichi Daily News*, Makoto Ichikawa, the chairman of Sohyo,* the largest labor federation in Japan, "called for a unified struggle of the workers and people, adding that

the conservative controlling class had bared its anti-people nature symbolized by the Lockheed case."

Call for investigation

The leaders of the JCP, JSP, DSP, and Komeito called for a full investigation of the Lockheed bribes, the ouster of the Liberal Democratic party (LDP) government of Prime Minister Takeo Miki, and the victory of the opposition parties in the general elections later this year.

After the rally, the participants paraded through Tokyo along six different routes. Conspicuous among the placards were those calling for a full investigation of the scandal. Similar placards were also predominant at the May Day rallies in Osaka, Kobe, and Kyoto. In Kobe, demonstrators carried an effigy of a Lockheed TriStar aircraft swallowing a government official.

In response to the massive protests against the attempted cover-up of the payoffs, the Miki government has been forced to make an appearance of taking some action against those already known to be involved.

Japan's 'Godfather'

On May 10, Yoshio Kodama, Lockheed's chief influence peddler in Japan, was indicted for violations of the Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Law. He was charged with failing to seek official approval for the transfer into Japan of \$1.46 million in May and June 1973. Although Lockheed officials have revealed that Kodama received a total of \$7.1 million for the purpose of bribing government and business figures between 1958 and 1975, he will not be charged for any crimes committed before 1973 because of the three-year statute of limitations.

Kodama is the most powerful Japanese figure directly connected to the scandal so far. He is a prominent leader of the ultraright and has close ties with many top leaders of the LDP. In fact, he helped bring at least three prime ministers to power and helped finance the formation in 1955 of the LDP, the only significant bourgeois party in Japan. Known as the "Godfather," he is also a powerful underworld boss.

Among the LDP leaders who may be implicated in the payoffs are Deputy Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda, Finance Minister Masayoshi Ohira, LDP General Secretary Yasuhiro Nakasone, and former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. All four are leaders of important LDP factions.



Labor demonstrations over Lockheed scandal similar to this one in Tokyo last February continue to rock Japanese government.

According to the May 14 Tokyo *Daily Yomiuri*, Kichitaro Hagiwara, board chairman of the Hokkaido Colliery and Steamship Company, admitted at a news conference in Sapporo that he has been a close friend of Kodama's since 1949 and that he was involved in some of Kodama's dealings. He also said that Kodama aided Tanaka in his election as LDP president, and thus as prime minister of the country, in 1972.

Tanaka, who was forced to resign in November 1974 for his involvement in a different financial scandal, has denied any connection to the Lockheed payoffs. On April 25, speaking to 500 persons at his family home in Sakata, he complained, "I have been the target of criticism, of pointed fingers."

The "investigations" being carried out by police, revenue, and Justice Ministry officials are primarily for show, however. In the three months since the names of Kodama and a few others were revealed in Washington during testimony by Lockheed officials, no new information has been disclosed by the American or Japanese governments.

CIA role

In fact, Japanese officials obviously hope that it will be a long time before additional names are released. *Washington Post* correspondent John Saar reported in the May 12 issue, "An official of the national tax agency estimated it would take five years of full-time work by the entire staff of 170 investigators to fully probe the Lockheed affair."

Moreover, on April 27 Foreign Minister Kiichi Miyazawa declared off limits to the investigators the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's possible involvement in the scandal. His statement was made in reply to a demand by Koichiro Ueda of the JCP that the government probe the CIA's role. JSP Chairman Narita has also charged the CIA with involvement in the payoffs.

The JCP and JSP charges followed disclosure by reporter Tad Szulc in the April 10 issue of the American weekly *New Republic* that the CIA had a "working relationship" with Kodama since the late 1940s. In the April 2 *New*

York Times Ann Crittenden stated that the CIA had reportedly given money to Kodama on several occasions, as well as to various ultrarightist groups and to the LDP.

The April 28 *Asahi Evening News* reported that former Assistant Secretary of State Roger Hilsman said he was told that the CIA had given funds to one or more Japanese political parties.

In his *New Republic* article, Szulc also linked the CIA to Deak & Co., a New York-based firm of international money dealers that helped Lockheed funnel some of its bribes into Japan. In light of this, Szulc concluded that the CIA may have used the Lockheed bribes as a covert channel for its aid to Japanese ultrarightists.

The White House refusal to disclose further information on the scandal does nothing to dispel this suspicion.

Washington backs Lockheed in Japan

The U.S. Defense Department is concerned about the current demonstrations in Japan against the Lockheed scandal. Washington fears these protests will interfere with a previous agreement made by Japan to purchase fifty Lockheed P-3C Orion planes in order to increase its patrols against Soviet submarines.

In an effort to help Lockheed complete this sale, U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is seeking to have the U.S. government intervene as a sales agent for the planes. This, he hopes, will provide "an aura of greater government control over Lockheed's marketing and contracting activities."

This intervention by the U.S. government underscores the Watergate-style corruption that is an integral part of Washington's war machine. Moreover, it reveals the need for working people in this country who oppose such corruption and warmongering to support the anti-Lockheed struggles by Japanese workers.



KODAMA: Lockheed's chief influence peddler in Japan.

CP hopes for 'historic compromise'

Italian voting: who'll come out on top?

By Gerry Foley

Almost all commentators expect the Italian general election set for June 20 to mark a new rise in the strength of the workers parties and a new stage in the disintegration of the Christian Democrats, the bourgeois party that has ruled since the end of World War II.

Italy may thus be the second country in Western Europe, after Portugal, where the workers parties win an absolute majority. The prospect seems to frighten both the capitalists and the CP leaders.

The Communist party did not want new elections at this time. It was seeking a deal with the Christian Democrats. To this end, it tried to avoid a direct confrontation with them over the right of abortion, the issue that triggered the crisis that brought down the government, just as it tried to avoid a clash over the right of divorce in 1974.

In its April 11 issue, the Rome weekly *L'Espresso*, which sponsored the petition campaign for a referendum on abortion, speculated about why the CP had been unable to reach an agreement with the Christian Democrats.

The understanding on abortion for which the Communists appealed, and which a large part of the Christian Democrats desperately sought in order to avoid elections that will certainly end badly for them, proved difficult to achieve.

While 50,000 women marched through the streets of Rome shouting the most heated feminist slogans, which were sometimes picked up by the "comrades" of the UDI [Unione Donne Italiane—Italian Women's Union, the CP female auxiliary], the Vatican secretary of state, Monsignor Benelli, stepped up his pressure on [Premier] Moro to get the government to declare itself "neutral" on abortion. [Christian Democratic party leader] Zaccagnini and his team worked hard all Saturday and Sunday to come up with a compromise.

But Monday afternoon all they could offer the secular parties was another attempt to confuse the issue, proposing again to let doctors authorize abortion for social and economic reasons.

The women's vote has assumed new importance for the CP, Cristina Mariotti and Franco Giustolisi pointed out in the April 25 *L'Espresso*. In the June 1975 local and regional elections that brought the CP within two points of the Christian Democrats, the party ran twice as many women candidates as in the previous vote.

They noted that a CP campaign manager, Celso Ghini, told them that the shift of the women's vote to the left is "a tendency that became clear in the divorce referendum."

Christian Democrats' decline

The divorce referendum also marked the start of the disintegration of the Christian Democratic party, a conglomeration held together only by the church.

Catholicism provided the only ideolo-



Abortion issue triggered crisis that brought down Italian government.

gy that could unite a broad bloc of voters under bourgeois direction. Thus, it made it possible to restabilize bourgeois parliamentary rule following the wartime crisis.

As the dreary round of bourgeois politics continued and Italian society modernized, it was inevitable that the church would lose its political hold. This process was accelerated by the rise of the women's movement. It is hard to measure how much. But clearly the feminist challenge to the Catholic "moral code" written into Italian law has served as a key catalyst in the deepening political crisis. The political role of the church has ceased to be a bulwark of bourgeois rule and become a grave weakness.

After the Christian Democratic leadership failed to exorcise the abortion issue by a "decent" compromise, Giancesare Flesca lamented in the April 11 *L'Espresso*: "The Christian Democrats have their backs to the wall, victims of their inability to become a secular party. For the second time in five years, they have forced the country to undergo an electoral trauma to avoid a referendum on a civil right.* For Zaccagnini, hard times are only beginning."

After the Christian Democrats blocked with the neofascists April 1 to pass a vote limiting abortions to cases of rape or danger to health, the Socialist party made it known that it was considering withdrawing its support for the government and allowing it to fall.

The SP had begun earlier to disen-

*Under Italian law a referendum cannot be held in the same year as a national election.—IP

gage from the government. It obviously had to build some bridges to the discontented workers and radicalized strata to survive as a reformist party. Since the CP has been concentrating on improving its relations with the church, the abortion issue gave the SP a golden opportunity to outflank its Stalinist rival from the left.

The Italian CP has moved so far to the right to convince the capitalists that it can be trusted in the government that the Social Democrats think they can move to the left of the Stalinists to regain credibility as a workers party.

Thus, a member of the Executive of the French SP, Georges Sarre, could write in the April 23 *Le Monde*:

The background to Italian politics is an economic crisis graver than in other countries, which is eroding profits. Facing this situation, the big bourgeoisie is divided over what strategy to follow. It is thus in a relatively weak position. The working class, on the contrary, is showing strength and dynamism. . . .

The Italian Communists think socialism is not on the agenda. Is this the path of prudence or timidity?

Political breakdown

The Social Democratic leaders can be sure the CP will not call their bluff by proposing a CP-SP government on a working-class program. But the pressure released by the breakdown of the bourgeois political machine cannot be so easily judged.

"Enrico Berlinguer, the Communist leader, has often said that a popular front [meaning here a coalition dominated by the CP-SP] would merely serve to polarize the nation because the Government would not be representative of the vast majority of the people," Alvin Shuster noted in a May 3 dispatch from Rome to the *New York Times*. "He has cited the case of Chile as an example of the disaster that follows when Christian Democrats and other non-leftist forces are excluded from government councils."

"That's fine for Berlinguer to say and to pledge now," one diplomat said. "But he would have a real problem selling the idea to many in the ranks of the party. They would want to know why they have to wait and sit down with Christian Democrats whom they believe have failed the country."

The CP also needs the participation of non-working-class parties, Shuster indicated, to avoid taking its responsibilities to the workers who support it:

In no time, several Communists said privately, the party would find itself a target of public rage for failing to transform the bureaucracy, modernize the hospitals and schools and generally bring about basic reforms quickly.

In a government with non-Communist forces, the Communists would be able to share the blame for the absence of sudden solutions.

Unfortunately for the Italian Stalinists, the Christian Democratic party is becoming so discredited that it is going

to be harder and harder to sell the idea of a grand coalition with them, and not just to their own ranks.

Lockheed scandal

The Lockheed payoff scandals hit the corrupt Catholic party hard. In particular, the disclosure that the highest officials in the country sold out the Italian taxpayers to an American trust deeply compromised not just the Christian Democrats but bourgeois parliamentary institutions themselves.

"On that Wednesday [April 21] began the most dramatic days in the history of the republic," Franco Giustolisi said in the May 2 *L'Espresso*, "the days of the Antelope." He continued:

"Antelope Cobbler refers to the Italian premier," said the dossier sent from America to the Commission of Inquiry. But which premier? The Lockheed case goes back to 1965. The Hercules transport plane swindle started at the end of 1968 and came to fruition in the following years. So, it had to be Moro, or Leone, or Rumor. In one stroke this implicated the incumbent president, the head of government, and the minister of foreign affairs . . . one of these three is Antelope, under whom all of us paid tens of billions of lira . . . to buy fourteen useless transport planes, bringing ministers, generals, and subordinates \$2,018,000. But Moro was suddenly put out of the running by the circumstances. Rumor and Leone remain in the race. Which one is Antelope?

The scandal tended to spread like Watergate because of a notable lack of solidarity among capitalist politicians and officials. At first Rumor tried to pass off the charge with a joke. "Me, Antelope? Everybody knows I'm 'Raymond' (the minister of foreign affairs mentioned in connection with oil-deal bribes)." The witticism went sour.

Rumor was infuriated by the note from the Quirinale [presidential] palace, clearly pointing to him as the only possible Antelope. He made it known that he did not intend to be a scapegoat. Mancini telephoned him: "Don't take it personally. In these cases, they pick on the politically weakest, even if they are respectable people."

The finger of suspicion, however, began to turn more to Leone. Linguists noted that "Cobbler" sounds like "gobbler," and what gobbles antelopes is a lion, "leone" in Italian. Some politicians reached the same conclusions from other data: "Everybody knows there is a store in New York that sells antelope-skin shoes, and that Leone bought some there."

Implication of the president in the Lockheed affair raised a constitutional problem with the prospect of elections:

"How can the head of state," said the Liberal Quilleri, "dissolve the assembly of his own judges, that is, parliament, since he is under accusation?"

The CP was reluctant to go after Leone, *L'Espresso* noted, since it thought the accusations against him were part of an operation by the Christian Democratic right:

In private, Communists say the right is blackmailing Leone. According to this version, the [leaders of the right] asked the head of state to help them dump Moro and put one of their own wing in his place.

The CP offered a deal to prevent the crisis from sharpening: "The left wing of the Christian Democracy insists on an agreement with the CP, now the only possible road."

However, the Catholics could not agree to any compromise program of reforms that would have enabled the CP and SP to justify tacit or open support to the government. CP General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer was quoted in a May 1 dispatch to the *New York Times* as expressing his disappointment:

"The legislature could have been saved,"



Italian magazine cover reads: 'Lockheed scandal, the last act: Giovanni Antelope says goodbye and goes away.'

Mr. Berlinguer said.

"The Christian Democrats did not have the courage. It is now time for the electorate to topple these prejudices once and for all and open the way for convergences and agreements that are essential if Italy is to find its feet."

CP's 'responsible' moderation

Bourgeois commentators have responded favorably to the "moderate" program offered by the CP. Joseph Kraft, a columnist close to U.S. State Department circles, said in the April 24 *New York Post* that he was particularly impressed with Bruno Trentin, CP leader of the metalworkers union, who told him:

The solution is a government of national austerity. It would reform the public services, returning some to private industry and squeezing out excess employment in bureaucracy.

Moreover, Trentin thought the CP could help hold down wages:

We do not make concessions just because our friends happen to be in power. But I think we could negotiate with them an austerity policy in which there would be a hold on wages in return for a larger say in management.

The authoritative British capitalist weekly *Economist* pointed out in its May 8 issue that the CP program amounts to the hope that a government with more working-class support can carry out the measures the Christian Democrats have failed to.

After thoughtful consideration, the *Economist* concluded that the time was not ripe for the CP's solution. Since the magazine held out no hope for the Christian Democrats, it thought the best way out for the time being would be a big increase in the vote of the small capitalist parties, the Liberals and Republicans.

Obviously the capitalist experts think that however willing the CP may be to collaborate in bourgeois rule, it cannot be relied on to be able to keep the necessary balance between the needs of maintaining its working-class support and the demands of administering a decaying capitalist system.

Furthermore, even the advocates of a "flexible" approach to the CP do not think that the Italian party has reached the point where it can cut its underlying ties with the Kremlin: The Communists "should be kept out of the government," Kraft wrote in the April 24 *New York Post*, "so that all of us

can test, over a period of years, their responses during the international crises, not yet totally previsible, but bound to develop in the Mediterranean." At best, a Communist party cannot be relied on to support the international aims of the capitalists, as a Social Democratic one could.

Actually the capitalist commentators' fears of seeing the CP in the government reflect the weakness of the system they defend. Since 1974, the decay of the capitalist economy and the contradictions of capitalist politics have defeated the attempts of the bourgeois and reformist parties to get together to restore the credibility of the bourgeois government for the working masses.



CP leader Berlinguer leaving meeting with Christian Democratic Premier Aldo Moro earlier this year.

Lebanon's former master kindly offers to return

[The following is from the News Analysis section of *Intercontinental Press*.]

By David Frankel

Henry Kissinger has concocted a new maneuver aimed at sending imperialist troops to Lebanon. After a series of meetings in Washington, French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing publicly offered the services of his army in enforcing a cease-fire in the Lebanese civil war.

When the proimperialist regime in Lebanon was threatened during the 1958 civil war there, Washington intervened with its own forces. Today, the U.S. Sixth Fleet is standing by off the Lebanese coast, but its use would doom President Ford's hopes in the 1976 election.

Speaking to reporters in New Orleans May 21, Giscard d'Estaing said he was prepared to send "several regiments" to Lebanon "within 48 hours" after a request from the Beirut government. The following day French military authorities told *New York Times* correspondent James F. Clarity that Paris "has about 20,000 men ready to respond to orders to move abroad."

It was made clear from the beginning that the French move had been solicited by the Ford administration. In a May 21 *New York Times* dispatch describing Giscard d'Estaing's offer, Flora Lewis reported, "The [French] President said he had discussed the plan with President Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. He added that Syria viewed the plan favorably."

Craig R. Whitney reported from Stockholm in the May 24 *New York Times* that Washington (i.e., Kissinger) "is quietly sounding out Israel and Arab governments in the Middle East for reactions to France's offer to send a peacekeeping force to Lebanon, according to high ranking American diplomats."

The possibility of imperialist intervention was warmly welcomed by the Christian rightists in Lebanon. The radio station of the right-wing Phalangist party said the offer of French troops was "a clear indication of brotherly feelings toward Lebanon." It also reported that the proposal was one of the "main subjects" discussed by President Suleiman Franjeh and President-elect Elias Sarkis at a May 22 meeting.

According to a May 23 United Press International dispatch from Beirut, Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel said, "There is no sincere man who would accept the presence of foreign troops on the soil of his homeland. But when the country is exposed to sabotage, destruction and partition, it would be stupid or obstinate to refuse to accept non-Lebanese forces."

The rightists know that the real purpose of any French "peace-keeping" mission in Lebanon would be to back them in their war against the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition.

France ruled Lebanon as a colony from 1918 to 1946. The French imperialists nurtured the religious divisions in the country, giving the Maronite Christians a privileged position and playing them off against the Muslim population. Before leaving Lebanon, the French forced the adoption of a governmental arrangement that virtually guaranteed future communal conflict.

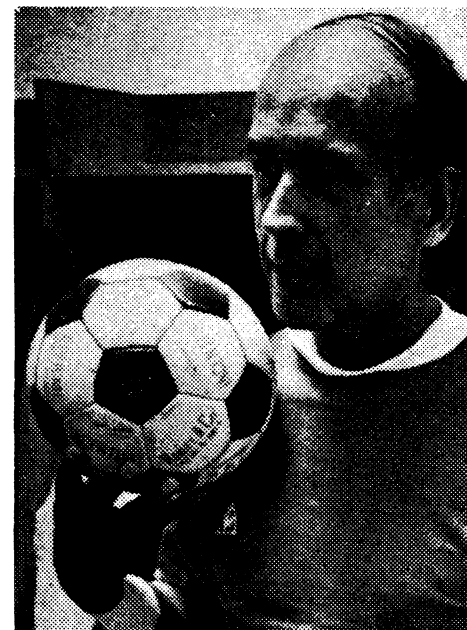
Although the hypocrites in Paris now pose as disinterested peacemakers,

they share a major part of the responsibility for the tens of thousands who have been killed and maimed in the current civil war.

The French president did not say whether the "peace-keepers" he would send to Lebanon would include units with experience in butchering rebellious populations in Indochina and Algeria.

Even the most conservative Muslim politicians in Lebanon were forced to take their distance from the proposal for French intervention. Premier Rashid Karami, for example, said May 23, "We are prepared to die in defense of our freedom and national unity. We will never go back to the days of the [French] mandate."

The reaction in Paris was reported in



GISCARD: Carrying the ball for Ford

a May 23 dispatch by James F. Clarity. Although Gaullist leaders generally backed Giscard d'Estaing, others did not. French Socialist party head François Mitterrand warned May 23 that a French force in Lebanon would not have "the slightest chance of succeeding in its mission," and might make the situation worse.

Jean Kanapa, a leader of the French Communist party, issued a statement saying that the Communists "refuse to have our country become involved in that which would become a new version of the Vietnam War, a war which, after all, could turn into general conflict."

Both Kissinger and Giscard d'Estaing knew in advance what the reaction to their trial balloon would be. Lebanon, however, is too closely tied in with the rest of the Middle East for the imperialists to ignore the events there.

The Syrian regime has been working closely with the State Department and the Maronite rightists up until now, but it faces increasing internal strains over its policies in Lebanon. The election of Sarkis has clearly failed to bring the stabilization the imperialists have been hoping for, and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad may not be in a position to commit the number of troops required to clamp a lid back on the Lebanese caldron, even temporarily. Furthermore, any action by Damascus also involves the risk of Israeli intervention and a larger Middle East war.

Giscard d'Estaing's move is damning evidence that the Ford administration is moving toward putting imperialist troops into Lebanon. Ford's only worry is that it be done without damaging his presidential campaign.

1,000 turn out despite Maoist disruptions

Hong Kong rally hits jailing of Peking protesters

By Ha Tin Lin

HONG KONG—One thousand persons attended a rally here May 16, protesting the suppression of the April 5 mass demonstration in Peking's Tien An Men Square.

The rally took place as local Maoists celebrated the tenth anniversary of the Cultural Revolution and reaffirmed their total support for the dismissal of Teng Hsiao-ping and the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng as premier.

Ten years ago Mao and his faction issued the so-called May 16 Directive, officially launching the Cultural Revolution that led to open struggle among the bureaucratic factions.

Today a new crisis in the factional struggle has broken out, and the internal ferment in the Chinese Stalinist regime has become more evident.

The protest rally here was sponsored by four local groups: *Young Militant*, a newspaper published by an independent Trotskyist youth group; the Revolutionary Marxist League, an organization that has declared its adherence to Trotskyism; the Young Socialist Group, which works closely with the

extended to leading local Maoists, including Young Kwong, deputy chairman of the Maoist-dominated Federation of Trade Unions; and the presidents of the various Maoist-controlled student unions.

The Maoists' response to this challenge was predictable. At first they pretended to ignore it. But since the general pressure is high and their followers expected a reply, they could not remain silent for long and eventually resorted to their usual methods—slander, threats, and brutal attacks.

Within days after the April 5 incident, the Trotskyists of the *Young Militant* took action to defend demonstrators who had been victimized. A statement was issued calling for united actions to demand the release of the 300 persons reported to have been arrested in connection with the Tien An Men protest.

At about the same time, the Social Science Society and the Committee of Current Events of the Student Union of the University of Hong Kong organized a campus forum to discuss the issue. Maoist student leaders were invited to speak at the forum and

the Maoists were still not satisfied. They launched a vitriolic personal attack on the president of the CSU, who attended the conference as a member of the delegation from the University of Hong Kong. He was accused of being objectively "anti-China," "anticommunist," and a supporter of the "Russian-backed Trotskyists."

The hysterical attack reached such a level that the Maoists were able to prevent any student group from participating in united actions called outside the campuses in the name of the CSU.

Slander campaign

For nearly three years the Maoists have conducted a similar slander campaign against the Trotskyists, accusing them of being "anti-China agents" so as to prevent them from gaining a hearing among the students. Although the Maoists never managed to completely isolate the Trotskyists, their attacks and threats have been partially successful in persuading many newly radicalized students to keep their distance from the Trotsky-

tors, a KMT clique, and Russian revisionists." It described the May 16 rally as a "reactionary action" tolerated and backed by British imperialism.

Joint statement

In reply to these attacks, the four groups published a joint statement explaining their view of the Tien An Men protest and the current factional struggle in China. Tens of thousands of copies of the statement were distributed on the campuses and in working-class districts. The *Young Militant* and the Seventies Front also circulated the statement at Maoist gatherings.

Press conferences, television interviews, and wall posters were also used to help publicize the rally.

On May 12, the four groups held a small protest action in front of the Hsinhua offices. Since the rally was the first of its kind in twenty years, publicity for it attracted a great deal of attention, enabling the action to proceed as scheduled.

The Maoists still threatened to disrupt the rally, however, and about fifty of them attended the action. They took notes, collected statements and leaflets issued by various organizations, and took photos of the rally stewards.

Small groups of Maoists tried repeatedly to hold their own "counterrallies." They also occasionally shouted in an effort to disrupt speeches by representatives of the groups that organized the rally.

After a number of attempts at disruption had failed, owing to the preparations made by the participants to maintain order, the Maoist elements began to make "patriotic" speeches denouncing the Trotskyists. This led to the detention of three Maoists by the colonial police, but they were released soon after.

Many leaflets and statements were circulated by the various tendencies and groups present at the rally. These included copies of a leaflet entitled, "In Defense of Chairman Mao! In Defense of the Party Central Committee!" which was distributed by some of the Maoists.

An indication of the interest in the views expressed by the various political tendencies was the fact that participants at the rally could be observed reading every leaflet they obtained.

Road forward

The rally was a success. It is difficult to say, however, whether it is possible in Hong Kong to build an ongoing campaign in defense of the basic democratic rights of the workers and peasants of the Chinese workers state.

The Maoists, who are very strong and have a huge propaganda machine, will undoubtedly renew their slander campaign. The ability of the Trotskyists to counter these attacks will be of decisive importance in extending the opening provided by the Tien An Men protest.

The Tien An Men incident has in fact provided revolutionary Marxists with an excellent opportunity to explain concretely their program for political revolution to overturn the Stalinist bureaucracy ruling in China. But propaganda alone is not sufficient.

It is necessary to mobilize the masses, beginning from their present level of consciousness, to demand the immediate release of those arrested and to defend the democratic rights of the Chinese people.



Part of crowd at May 16 rally in Hong Kong

Trotskyists; and the Seventies Front, a neoanarchist formation.

Three other groups or publications also announced their solidarity with the rally: the Chinese Human Rights Association, an organization composed mainly of former Red Guards; *Reawakening*, a monthly magazine published by a group of young radical Chinese living in Britain; and *October Review*, a Trotskyist monthly published here.

Plans for the rally included setting aside time for an open forum to discuss what actually happened at Tien An Men Square.

Attitude of Maoists

The Maoists have charged that the demonstration there was "an organized, premeditated and planned counterrevolutionary political incident."

The organizers of the rally, on the other hand, said in an April 25 statement that the "one hundred thousand people gathered on April 5 at Tien An Men Square clearly pointed out with their mass action that the masses want to express their own opinions on the current events in China."

Invitations to take part in the discussion session of the rally were

debate the incident with a former Red Guard leader who is now a leading member of the Chinese Human Rights Association.

The invitations were rejected, however. As a result, discussion at the forum centered on refuting the Maoist charge that the April 5 protest was "counterrevolutionary."

Another group, the College Student Union (CSU), currently led by liberal students, issued a statement in late April denouncing the dismissal of Teng Hsiao-ping and the appointment of Hua Kuo-feng by the Politburo of the Chinese CP as a violation of the constitution adopted by the [January 1975] Fourth People's Congress of China.

On May 4, the CSU held a protest in front of the Hong Kong offices of Hsinhua news agency.

The position taken by the CSU led to a heated tendency struggle at the April 24-25 delegated conference of the Maoist-dominated Federation of Student Unions, which claims a membership of 17,000 post-secondary students.

A motion by the liberal students to denounce Peking's action was defeated, and a resolution supporting Peking was adopted by a vote of 43 to 4. But

ists. At present the tactic still works, but does not seem to have the same effectiveness.

After the fight had been suppressed on the campuses, it broke out in other areas. In response to a call by the *Young Militant*, three other groups expressed their support for a united action to demand the release of those arrested in connection with the Tien An Men protest. A rally was scheduled for May 16.

Since gatherings of any kind require a permit from the British colonialists, it was feared that the Maoists might pressure the government into banning the action. This concern was not unfounded.

Young Kwong openly declared that the Federation of Trade Unions would not tolerate "class enemies" using Hong Kong as a base for "sabotage" against the Peking regime. (In the terminology of the local Maoists, "class enemy" means members of the Kuomintang [KMT], Soviet "revisionists," and Trotskyists.)

Wen Wei Po, the leading Maoist daily here, published a series of attacks on the Trotskyists and the organizers of the rally, denouncing them as "a handful of national trai-



Chou En-lai and Mao meet Nixon and Kissinger. 1972 Peking summit paved way for U.S. bombing escalation in Vietnam.

Nixon's Peking summit

By Dick Roberts

(Third of a series)

Richard Nixon's first visit to China in February 1972 marked a watershed in Peking's relations with Washington. It occurred as the U.S. air attack against Vietnam was being escalated on an almost daily basis. Washington did not hesitate to capitalize on the event by dropping tens of thousands of leaflets on the battle lines of the Vietnamese liberation fighters showing Mao and Nixon exchanging toasts in Peking.

At the time, the *Guardian* newspaper defended Peking's handling of the Nixon trip. *Guardian* managing editor Jack Smith wrote in the 1973 pamphlet *Unite the Many, Defeat the Few*:

"China made no concessions during the talks and subsequent contacts between the two countries. The joint communique was a model of what China believes to be the correct handling of relations between states with different social systems. Of great importance, the U.S. side agreed to China's five principles of coexistence."

Smith also emphasized that "the Soviet party was displeased by Nixon's visit to China because it would obviously contribute toward ending China's isolation in world affairs. . . . the U.S. chose to associate with a major socialist country without seeking agreement from the CPSU."

Three questions are raised here: What attitude should revolutionaries take toward the Soviet Union? What does the record of the war in Vietnam actually show about Peking's secret dealings with Nixon? And what does "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism really mean?

Moscow's 'revisionism'

Smith correctly pointed out that "the USSR had no real choice in Vietnam. Had it refused to support the DRV and revolutionary forces in South Vietnam it would have been thoroughly discredited within the socialist world and may have lost its leadership of the bloc." It should be added that the discredit would have been worldwide. Everywhere masses of people sided with the Vietnamese against the ferocious U.S. attack.

Even so, the Soviet aid to the liberation struggle was minimal. The USSR refused to take part in, let alone provide leadership for, an international movement that could have organized tens of millions of people the world over to actively oppose the U.S. invasion. On the contrary, pro-Moscow parties everywhere sought to block the development of such a movement—and

in many countries they succeeded.

Participants in the U.S. antiwar movement, including the *Guardian*, are all too familiar with the permanent effort of the Communist party USA to derail the antiwar movement here. From its initial opposition to the slogan of "Bring the troops home now" to its repeated efforts to siphon the antiwar movement off into Democratic party politics, the CPUSA carried out in practice Moscow's line. Their strategy was to appease U.S. imperialism and block the building of a mass, independent antiwar movement.

United front

Unfortunately, however, Peking and pro-Peking forces internationally defaulted on their responsibility to provide support and leadership for the movement Moscow had betrayed.

Peking did not expose failure to aid the embattled Vietnamese. The Chinese leadership did not issue a revolutionary program of action aimed at closing ranks in the international socialist movement in the face of Washington's attack. Peking gave the impression of rejecting any effort to form a united front on the governmental level with the Soviet Union.

Alone among governments, Cuba condemned Moscow and Peking for their failure to unite in defense of Vietnam. At the University of Havana, March 16, 1965, Fidel Castro declared, "In face of the aggression against North Vietnam, our position is unequivocal. We think that all the aid necessary in men and arms must be granted North Vietnam. We hold that the socialist camp must run all the necessary risks to aid North Vietnam. . . ."

"Grave dangers threaten us and they cannot be combated with academic chatter . . . Divided revolutionaries, slandering each other, cannot face the imperialist enemy effectively. And no one is more affected by these divisions in the socialist camp than the little countries like North Vietnam and Cuba."

Che, in his famous speech that opened, "The slogan is to create two, three . . . many Vietnams," declared, "There is a painful reality: Vietnam, this nation representing the aspirations, the hopes for victory of an entire disinherited world, is tragically alone. . . ."

"The solidarity of the progressive world for the Vietnamese people has something of the bitter irony faced by the gladiators in the Roman Circus when they won the applause of the plebs."

That was in 1967. It remained true through six more years of escalated U.S. bombing.

'Self-reliance'

In his 1973 pamphlet Smith tried to justify China's default in terms of the Maoist doctrines of "peaceful coexistence" between Peking and Washington and "self-reliance" for Vietnam. "The people of each country must rely on their own correct line in winning," a Chinese official told Smith. "Only by creating their own revolution, depending primarily on themselves, can a people truly gain freedom."

What this came down to in practice was that Nixon and Mao could develop state relations, while the Vietnamese relied on themselves, with only minimal material aid, in the face of Nixon's genocidal war. The slogan of "self-reliance" was no more than an excuse for subordinating the Vietnamese liberation struggle to Peking's hopes for diplomatic and trade deals with Washington.

War escalation

Jack Smith said in 1973, "There has not been a single scrap of evidence to even suggest that China made a 'deal' with the U.S. at the expense of the Indochina liberation struggle." I believe he is mistaken. I urge the *Guardian* staff to study the Pentagon papers.

Revolutionaries don't usually get hold of the most secret internal documents of the imperialists before taking state power. The advantage of this exception should not be passed up.

Two themes in the Pentagon papers refute Smith's assertion. First was the constant attention of the Pentagon analysts to Moscow's and Peking's responses to each stage of the U.S. escalation, however minute. The U.S. rulers became convinced that Peking's criticism of the bombing was mainly "bellicosity and bluster."

But the experts had reservations, and this is the second point. The Pentagon papers, which do not go beyond March 1968, showed that Washington believed that *closing the port of Haiphong* was a "red flash point," that is, a stage of U.S. aggression that would be so great that Moscow and Peking would be compelled to react. Washington did not take this step until May 1972, following the Peking summit.

Here's how the escalation actually developed:

On December 26, 1971, for the first time since 1968, U.S. bombers struck North Vietnam. The attack lasted five days and included 1,000 sorties.

On January 25, 1972, Nixon issued

his "eight-point plan" for a cease-fire based on the continued existence of the Saigon government. From then on Washington stepped up the bombing of North and South Vietnam week by week. On February 14 the bombing of South Vietnam had reached the highest levels of the war, exceeding the peaks of 1968 and 1969.

One week later Chou En-lai greeted Nixon in Peking.

Beginning April 15, Hanoi and Haiphong were heavily bombed. War Secretary Melvin Laird held a news conference to declare that no place in Vietnam was off limits to U.S. bombers.

On May 8, Nixon went on television to announce his decision to blockade the port of Haiphong and seal off North Vietnam.

Although what was said at the Moscow and Peking summits remains a closely held secret from the people of China, the Soviet Union, and the United States, can there be any doubt that these summits turned a "red flash point" into a green light?

There is, however, an even more compelling piece of evidence. This came from the North Vietnamese leadership itself, in August 1972, after both summits, and as Nixon's bombing reached its most ferocious peaks. It was Hanoi's strongest implicit criticism of Moscow and Peking in the course of the war.

Nhan Dan, the official Hanoi newspaper, declared August 17, ". . . for the U.S. imperialists, reconciliation is but a Machiavellian policy to materialize designs of aggression. . . ."

"In other words, to carry out the 'Nixon doctrine' U.S. imperialists have applied the policy of reconciliation toward a number of big powers in the hope of having a free hand to consolidate their forces, oppose the world revolutionary movement, suppress the revolution at home, bully the small countries, break the national liberation movement while not relinquishing its plan to prepare a new world war.

"For the socialist countries, safeguarding peace and carrying out peaceful coexistence cannot be separated from the world movement of independence, democracy and socialism. If this is aimed only at caring for the narrow, immediate interests of a country, it will not only harm the revolutionary movements of various countries, but, in the end, will bring to these very countries incalculable losses and make them give up their lofty internationalist duty."

(Next: What "peaceful coexistence" really means)

Armando Gutierrez looks at

Issues facing Raza Unida in Texas

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Last November the state executive committee of the Texas Raza Unida party decided that the party would not run a state ticket in the 1976 elections. Instead, it would concentrate its efforts in local communities with substantial Chicano populations in order to gain significant votes and, where possible, win elections.

It was generally agreed that instead of fielding their own tickets RUP activists in urban areas would lend their efforts and resources to helping party campaigns in neighboring small towns and rural areas.

Armando Gutiérrez explained why he felt this was a correct decision.

Gutiérrez is a Chicano studies professor at the University of Texas in Austin. He was the RUP candidate for the Texas legislature in 1974, and he continues as an active figure in the RUP.

Will the party's decision not to mount campaigns in the urban areas leave Chicano voters without a real choice in the elections and open the way for a drift by supporters back to the Democratic party? Gutiérrez doesn't think so.

The problem, he said, is not so much to change people from the Democrats to the RUP, "but to change them from not voting, not participating, to participating."

"The point to keep in mind," he said, "is that in the urban areas—and I don't see any way of this changing in the near future—upwards of about 80 percent of eligible Chicanos don't vote. They're not registered, or they're registered but don't vote."

"One of the problems with running in urban areas," he continued, "is if you constantly get beat, and get beat bad—and the Democrats are now putting a lot of effort into beating us—there's always the danger the people won't take you seriously any more."

"The simple fact that you're offering an alternative—and that's good—has to be balanced off against the potentially negative effect of running people for office without much chance of getting any kind of substantial vote."

"The thing you have to remember," he added, "is that you get people mobilized, get them interested and concerned, and then, when nothing happens, they fall back and it becomes doubly difficult to try to get them interested again."

'Concrete proof'

One of the advantages Gutiérrez sees in focusing on small Chicano towns is that, with victories in these towns, La Raza Unida will be able to bring improvements in the life of the people and this will

In late March and early April Militant Southwest Bureau head Harry Ring spent three weeks in Texas talking with activists in the Chicano movement. This is one of a series of articles resulting from that visit, the most recent of several such trips Ring has made since 1971.

As in previous years, Ring tried to get a sense of the present state of the movement and of the thinking of participants, particularly leaders of La Raza Unida party.

The Militant will be printing Ring's interviews with such early builders of the RUP as José Angel Gutiérrez, Rosie Castro, Ines Tovar, and Paul Velez. We begin this week with Armando Gutiérrez.

Ring discovered that among the core group of the RUP basic issues of ideology and long-term perspective are being grappled with, along with immediate practical problems of tactics and strategy. In this and coming issues of the Militant we will present some of the thinking expressed in these interviews. Then Ring will offer his own comments on some of the issues discussed.

help build the party's attractive power in urban areas.

"One of the biggest problems we have right now," he said, "is that we have no proof. Basically, we have nothing but promises, and people are tired of hearing promises."

"Simply because we call ourselves Raza Unida and say something different doesn't make us different to them from other political parties until we can offer concrete proof."

The new low-rent housing that has been built in Crystal City, the expanded health services there, and similar gains are the kinds of things he feels will persuade people that La Raza Unida does have something meaningful to offer.

But, he added, people around the state don't get to hear about what is happening in Crystal City. If, for example, the RUP could win in a small town like Robstown, the people in a city like Corpus Christi, twenty miles away, would learn about the gains. And, similarly, if the RUP could build a base in Lockhart, the people in nearby Austin would be influenced by the resulting accomplishments.

Another advantage Gutiérrez sees in the work in small towns is that it will help develop ties between Blacks and Chicanos. He sees a developing sentiment among Blacks for independent political action and feels that Texas is important in this regard because it's a state where Blacks and Chicanos have the best opportunity to come together.

"People have been talking about it for a long time," he said. "But I really see it as coming closer."

Gutiérrez turned to the key question that he and others in the RUP are giving a lot of thought, that of political ideology.

"I think one of the things that has retarded the growth of the party," he said, "is that basically there's been no clear ideology. There is some ideology in the platform, but in terms of the general direction of the party it's been kind of scattered."

He sees three aspects to the development of an ideology: goals, analysis, and strategy.

Under goals, he explained, you determine what it is the party wants to achieve. Under analysis, you analyze the present system and try to understand what it is about the system that prevents you from achieving these goals.

Under strategy, he continued, comes the need to determine whether you can work within the present system or if a completely different system is needed.

"We've never done that," he said. "Therefore, there's been a lot of haphazard organizing and moving in different directions . . . I think that what's happening now is that we're beginning to move in the direction of developing an ideology."

"Any kind of a theory, if it's not applied to everyday life, simply becomes some kind of academic exercise. Certainly, if you're going to talk about Karl Marx, he knew this. One of his biggest criticisms was of people who sat around in their offices philosophizing but never getting out and doing something with it."

"I think we're reaching a fusion of the two, a fusion of the intellectual community and the much more practical organizers. The two working together can come up with a program that has a positive consequence."

What's needed, he explained, is for the party and its supporters to focus on basic problems rather than only on the most immediate expressions of them.

One of the things that is helping Raza Unida activists to develop an ideology, Gutiérrez said, is the practical political experience of administering Crystal City and Zavala County, where the party is in control. Crystal City is the seat of Zavala County.

"The problem of Crystal City," he said, "is that in terms of funds they're dependent on the federal government. The lunch program in the schools, the free breakfasts, most of this is federal money. Obviously, the problem with that is that it can be cut off at any time."

Federal government

"My position," he said, "is that you should use it while it's there. But basically, you're a hostage of the federal government."

"What's happening in Crystal and Zavala County—and I think this is part of this whole development of ideology—is that now people are coming to the realization that this dependency is not there by accident. The dependency is there by design. It prevents people from challenging in any serious way the fundamental basis of society."

Gutiérrez pointed to a fight being waged by the Raza Unida administrations in Crystal City and Zavala County against a scandalous rip-off by the utility company from which they buy their gas.

RUP officials such as Zavala County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez are putting forward the idea that if the courts uphold the gas company in this dispute, the county should move to take over several wells in the area, which would provide more than enough gas for local needs.

Armando Gutiérrez feels that in doing this the RUP is not only waging a progressive fight around a vital immediate problem but is also helping to politicize people. From this fight, he said, people are learning the essential lesson that they cannot make a basic change in their conditions of life until they wrest control of the wealth and natural resources from the powerful corporations and break their dependency on the governmental forces, federal and state, that serve the interests of these corporations.

A few years ago, he said, the Raza Unida leaders might not have taken their present stand. "They wouldn't have said that," he believes, "because they hadn't come to this ideological realization."

"I see this as an extremely positive kind of thing that's happening," he concluded. "And it's happening throughout the party, not only here in Texas, but throughout the Southwest. It's taking some time, but the people are beginning to move in that direction."

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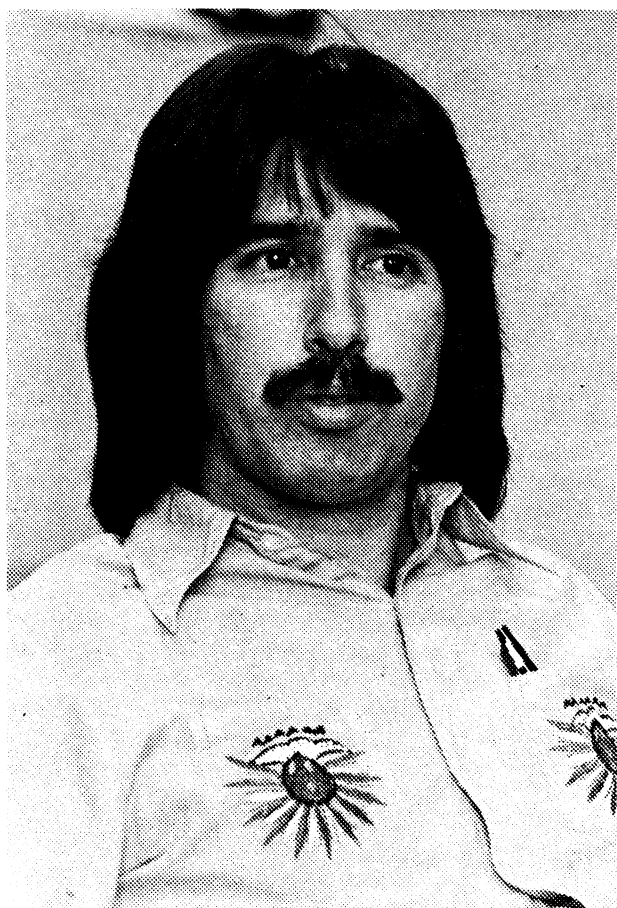
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Militant/Harry Ring

ARMANDO GUTIERREZ: 'People won't see us as different from other parties simply because we call ourselves Raza Unida and say something different. We have to offer concrete proof.'

Armed Madrid cops ban Camejo meeting

MADRID—"A politically civilized country is one where there is order with liberty, where order is not sacrificed for liberty nor is liberty suppressed to maintain order."

These words of Spanish Minister of the Interior Manuel Fraga last night accompanied the passage in the Cortes (the Francoist parliament) of a bill claiming to lift some of the thirty-seven-year-old restrictions on political meetings and demonstrations in Spain.

But tonight, May 26, Peter Camejo, presidential candidate of the U.S. Socialist Workers party, arrived in Madrid only to learn that his evening meeting had been canceled by Spanish authorities.

Camejo had been invited to speak by

the San Andrés neighborhood association in Villaverde Alto, the largest Madrid working-class neighborhood. But their request for the meeting, routinely filed with a government body, had been rejected on technical grounds.

On the chance that the meeting could still go ahead, Camejo went to the site. The area was filled with people who had come to hear him. But the building was surrounded by a squad of machine gun-toting Guardia Civil (Civil Guards). They had evidently been there for hours, first tearing down posters announcing the meeting and later turning people away.

Camejo and a large group of the people went to see an official of the

neighborhood committee that had sponsored the meeting. The man angrily waved the formal rejection slip in our faces. "It's just an excuse, a fake. We've held many meetings here. There's just no damn freedom."

"Why do you think the meeting was canceled?" Camejo asked.

"I think," the man said, "and this is my personal opinion, that people are making a big campaign about your being here. [The authorities] understand that in one way or another you're going to attract people, and they are opposed to allowing large meetings to take place. They know you'll attract a big crowd here. So, with a formal reason, which is not justified, they've suspended the meeting, with the ex-

cuse that the request for the meeting was not properly signed. . . .

Camejo explained to the man that the U.S. government claims that there is democracy in Spain. "And they say it's increasing all the time," Camejo said. "With this reasoning, they say they're completely justified in giving all-out support to the Spanish government."

"Whoever said that to you," said the man, "has made a very serious political mistake. The bad thing is that they go around saying the opposite of what's really happening. In America they think that there's freedom and democracy in Spain. They're saying that? Okay, we welcome you here, so you can go back and tell them the truth."

—J.R.

...thousands in Spain hear U.S. socialist

Continued from back page

The audience included a number of supporters of Spain's large, underground Communist party. Their faces grew serious as Camejo denounced international Stalinist politics, past and present.

"But," Camejo went on, "we must not confuse the rank and file of the Communist parties or the Social Democratic parties with the disastrous lines of their leaders. We must be able to work together, to unite, around the many important goals we all support—like freeing all political prisoners—even if we disagree with much of their politics."

This touched a responsive chord throughout the audience, which burst into a new round of applause.

Soviet Union

The socialist presidential candidate also explained his views on the Soviet Union at each of his six appearances. Camejo stated his unwavering defense of the historic gains won in 1917 by the Soviet workers and peasants: the abolition of capitalist exploitation; the nationalization of basic industry; a planned economy; and the establishment of socialized health care and other services.

These victories, however, are endangered by the Stalinist bureaucracy that has stolen political power from the Soviet masses, Camejo said. He championed the cause of dissidents who are courageously struggling for democratic rights in the Soviet Union in the face of harsh repression.

Camejo said that the Soviet workers would have to make a political revolution to replace the bureaucratic clique with democratic institutions responsible to the masses. "That's why I support the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky," Camejo said.

Women's liberation

During the question period, a young woman asked, "Can you tell us about the women's movement in the United States? This is important for us, since we are seeing the rebirth of the women's movement in our country." It was a question that had been raised at almost every meeting Camejo addressed.

"This is, I think, much more important than the international socialist movement understands," Camejo replied. He outlined the roots of women's oppression, and stated his party's total support for the struggles of women. "We believe that all socialists should support the formation of an independent women's liberation movement to fight for its demands; because it is necessary for women, precisely because they are oppressed as women, to unite and work together to develop their own leadership."



Camejo met with radical Catalan priest Luis Xirinacs, who is holding a widely publicized vigil for amnesty outside main men's prison in Barcelona. A photograph of the scene above appeared in the Spanish press.

The following evening in Madrid, Camejo spoke to an audience of about 1,500 at Madrid University, the largest meeting of the tour.

During the meeting a heated debate occurred between a CP supporter who took the floor and Trotskyists in the audience. In his concluding remarks, Camejo turned the microphone back to the CP supporter, and the meeting closed with rousing chants of "Unidad" and "Amnistía" (Unity; Amnesty).

The enthusiastic tone of the meeting was tempered somewhat when the crowd left the auditorium. Six truckloads of armed police were parked to the side of the building.

'Big Brother' still watching

All of Camejo's meetings were legal, sponsored by university groups and neighborhood associations or clubs. But this did not always guarantee that a meeting could be held, as the banning of one of the meetings in

Madrid testified (see accompanying box). Nor did it imply that the authorities were not keeping a close watch, as was shown by the police stationed outside two other meetings. Even though the regime has been forced to allow some freedom of speech because of mass pressure, the police still make arbitrary arrests and disperse many gatherings.

This does not stop people from attending political meetings, however. Everywhere the response was similar: eagerness to hear an American revolutionist, deep interest in all political questions, a lively and enthusiastic response.

At the first meeting of the tour, held the evening of May 24 in the University of Barcelona's Sociology Department, Camejo was presented with a plaque, a cultural symbol of the Catalan people. Catalans are an oppressed nationality in northern Spain.

The following morning at the University of Valencia, Camejo spoke to

450 students in the Economics auditorium. Outside the hall, a huge, hand-lettered banner announced his meeting. A literature table set up by the Liga Comunista (LC—Communist League, a Spanish sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) did a brisk business selling pamphlets, books, and two posters advertising a Barcelona women's liberation conference. The posters read, "Without revolution there can be no women's liberation; without women's liberation there can be no revolution" and "Don't beg for your rights; fight for them."

At the side of the table, copies of *Inprecor*, the fortnightly magazine of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, and *Combate*, the newspaper of the LC, were displayed.

That evening, back in Barcelona, Camejo spoke in front of a large banner proclaiming, "For the World Revolution; Long Live the Fourth International." This talk, in the Barcelona University Faculty of Philosophy and Letters, drew 500 persons who filled the hall to overflowing.

Amnesty

Earlier that day Camejo conducted a number of press interviews and met with Luis Xirinacs, a radical priest who is holding a vigil for amnesty outside the main men's prison in Barcelona. Xirinacs, who spent two years in jail for his opposition to the regime, has vowed to continue his vigil until amnesty is won.

A crowd of Xirinacs's supporters, surrounding him on the sidewalk, wore bright red, yellow, and white T-shirts with the words, "Marxa de la Llibertat" (Catalan for "March for Freedom"). They told Camejo how a long march that was to pass throughout Catalonia in support of amnesty had been prohibited by the government only the day before. Xirinacs presented Camejo with one of the T-shirts.

At his last meeting, held in an industrial suburb of Barcelona May 29, Camejo spoke to an audience of 600, predominantly workers. To his concluding remark, "Long live the world socialist revolution," the audience replied with a loud and enthusiastic "Viva!"

During the tour Camejo was interviewed by every major daily newspaper in Barcelona and Madrid. These included *La Vanguardia Española*, Spain's largest daily; the widely read new Madrid daily *El País*; and *Avui*, the first Catalan-language daily to appear since the civil war. In Barcelona alone, six of the seven major dailies printed interviews.

Camejo was also interviewed by the three newsmagazines with the largest national circulation. Many more papers carried articles announcing his arrival, the banning of his Madrid meeting, and his discussions with labor leaders.

NEW YORK CITY

Camejo reports on Spain tour

Hear Peter Camejo report back on his nine-day speaking tour in Spain. The meeting will be held Wednesday, June 9, 7:30 p.m., at New York University Catholic Center, 58 Washington Square South, New York City. Donation: \$1. For more information call (212) 982-4966.

Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee—chairperson: Debby Tarnopol; treasurer: Peter Buch.

Campaigning for Socialism

REID TOURS OREGON. . . : Eighty-five people attended a spirited socialist campaign rally in Portland, Oregon, May 14. It was the culmination of three days of campaigning by Socialist Workers party vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid.

The socialist candidate was interviewed by Stan Federman, political editor of the *Oregonian*. With a circulation of 230,000, the *Oregonian* is the state's largest daily.

Federman described Reid as "intense but ebullient." He noted that the socialist platform includes "putting people back to work, creating jobs, building needed homes and hospitals and child care centers."

At the Portland rally, Larry Copeland, president of a gay activists' group called Portland Town Council, welcomed Reid to Oregon. Copeland's group has endorsed Caroline Fowlkes, SWP candidate for school board in Portland.

George Kontanis, socialist candidate for mayor of Portland, also addressed the rally.

During her tour Reid spoke at Portland Community College-Cascade, at Portland State University, and at the University of Oregon in Eugene. The Eugene appearance was part of the Black Arts Festival sponsored by the campus Black Student Union.

. . . AND COLORADO. . . : Before traveling to Oregon, Reid spent three days campaigning in Colorado. During a speech to a campaign rally of seventy-five people May 8, the socialist vice-presidential candidate blasted FBI harassment of the SWP.

A legal suit against the government filed by the socialists has documented everything from FBI mail tampering to burglaries. "They lie, they cheat, they steal," Reid told the rally, "and now the question is posed: Do they kill? Did they assassinate Martin Luther King? Did they assassinate Malcolm X?"

Other speakers at the rally were Carole Newcomb, SWP candidate for Colorado University regent; Priscilla Schenk, candidate for U.S. Congress; Gene Jackson, a member of the Young



Militant/Frank Lord

REID: 'FBI lies, cheats, and steals.'

Socialist Alliance; and Ann Chavez, a member of the Citizens Coalition for Equal Education, a community organization fighting for bilingual, bicultural education and desegregation in Denver schools.

Joan Paltrineri, socialist candidate for the Colorado State Assembly, announced that Reid and her running mate, Peter Camejo, had been certified for ballot status the previous day.

During her Colorado tour, Reid was guest speaker at the Cinco de Mayo rally sponsored by Chicano student organizations at three Denver colleges.

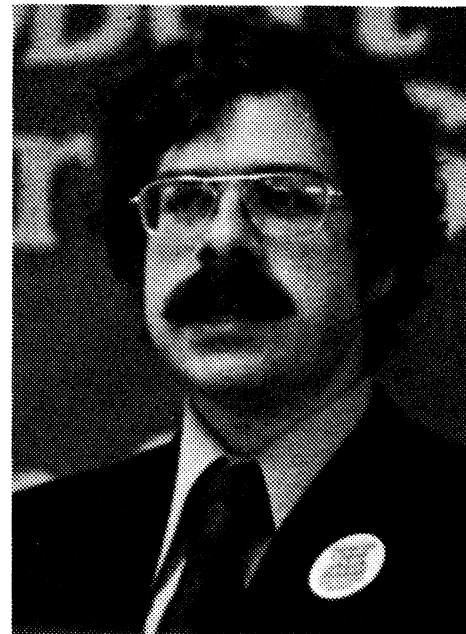
. . . AND IOWA TOO: *Militant* correspondent Claire Cunningham reports that seventy-five students at Iowa State University turned out May 10 to hear Reid speak on "The Socialist Answer to Racism and the Oppression of Women."

At a reception at the Black Cultural Center after the talk, discussion centered on Reid's proposal for an independent Black political party to counter the racist policies of the Democrats and Republicans.

PRISONERS GROUPS BACK WISCONSIN SOCIALIST: "It is strongly suggested that the struggling people of Wisconsin make every attempt to dump [Democrat William] Proxmire, and to elect Robert Schwarz of the Socialist Workers party. . . the record shows that SWP has strongly directed evidence-supported challenges against the incompetence and corruption of the ruling class, and has actively constructed and demanded solutions in the interests of the people."

This endorsement of Robert Schwarz's socialist campaign for U.S. Senate was written by Prisoners for Survival and All Tribes (a group of Native American inmates), two organizations at the maximum security state penitentiary at Waupun. Prisoners for Survival has also endorsed the socialists' lawsuit against government spying and harassment.

Mimi Pichey reports from Milwaukee that the announcement of these endorsements was a high point of a socialist campaign rally held there May 8. Sixty people attended the rally. Among the speakers were Schwarz; Mercedes Rivas, president of the Bilingual/Bicultural Parents Advisory Committee to the Milwaukee Public School Board;



SCHWARZ: Endorsed by prisoners groups.

and a representative of the United Farm Workers.

Three days earlier, on May 5, Schwarz officially launched his campaign for U.S. Senate at the state capitol in Madison. That morning he delivered a letter to the Wisconsin State Board of Elections demanding that his campaign committee be exempted from disclosing the names of its financial contributors. Such disclosure provisions expose supporters of Schwarz's candidacy to government harassment, providing a ready-made "enemies list" for the FBI and local red squads.

SOAPBOXING IN MANHATTAN: "I don't want to read the *Militant*. I don't want to buy the *Militant*. I want to sell the *Militant*!" That was the response of one Puerto Rican worker attracted by a socialist street meeting at Manhattan's Foley Square May 12.

The two street-corner speakers were Ed Heisler, a cochairperson of the Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, and Catarino Garza, SWP candidate for Congress from Lower Manhattan.

Foley Square, a small park in Lower Manhattan, is surrounded by federal and municipal office buildings. At lunchtime, when the rally was held, the area fills up with thousands of public employees.

Garza and Heisler also spoke outside Bellevue Hospital, a large public hospital with a staff numbering in the thousands. Bellevue is just one of several institutions that make up "hospital row" along Manhattan's First Avenue. This hospital complex is one of the largest work areas in the city, and the socialist street meeting there caught the attention of everyone from nurses' aides to lab technicians to doctors.

Garza supporter Rachel Towne reports that socialist campaigners set up tables at each location featuring campaign literature and socialist books and pamphlets. Forty copies of the *Militant* were sold during the day of street campaigning, Towne reports, "and we could have sold many more if we hadn't run out." —Steve Clark

Socialism on board ERA Freedom Train

By Andrea Morell, director, 1976 campaign committee

When more than 8,000 supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment converged on Springfield, Illinois, May 16, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid were there with them.

Supporters of the Socialist Workers party campaign were also on board the Freedom Train that brought 500 march participants from the East Coast. SWP campaign supporters were active in helping build the demonstration through their local chapters of the

Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund

National Organization for Women (NOW), campus women's groups, and trade unions.

One of the Freedom Train riders was Marcia Gallo, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from New York. Describing the trip, she said, "Women wanted to discuss all kinds of political issues, ranging from how we can organize to win the ERA, to the upcoming Democratic party convention, to the attacks on abortion rights and child care."

"Many asked how a socialist candidate would go about changing this society to meet the needs of women.

"As often as not I would hand someone a campaign brochure—either a copy of 'A Bill of Rights for Working People' or 'The Fight for Women's Rights'—and end up having a long and involved conversation."

Curiosity about socialism among the feminists on the train prompted a group of women from Burlington, Vermont, to help Camejo and Reid supporters organize a discussion on the return trip from Springfield.

Sitting in the aisle, perched on seat arms, forty women gathered for the discussion, which went on for several hours, touching topics ranging from the origins of sexism to why the Communist party opposes the ERA.

"Many women wanted to know why a party like the SWP was necessary to achieve socialism," observed Gallo. "They wanted to know whether we thought building the SWP was a substitute for building a mass feminist movement."

Camejo and Reid supporters explained that their party champions the concept of an independent feminist movement to fight for women's rights. Women cannot achieve full liberation under capitalism, however, the socialists explained. The ruling rich rake in billions of dollars each year by keeping women tied to the kitchen and

at the bottom rungs of the job market.

That's why many women have joined the SWP, which unites working people of both sexes and all nationalities around the goal of replacing the profit system with a socialist society based on human needs.

The Camejo & Reid '76 Campaign Fund is part of the effort to reach thousands of people whose sentiments were summed up well by one woman on the Freedom Train. She told Gallo, "I'm a socialist, but I'm not really sure

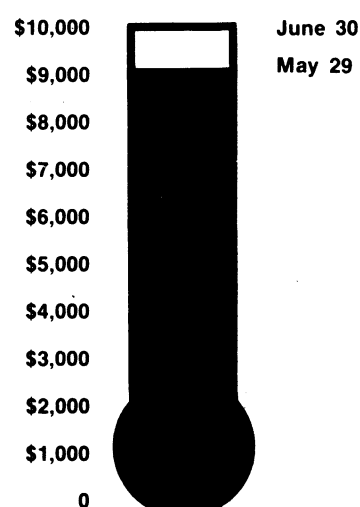
what that means yet."

Many contributions to the fund have been sent in by *Militant* readers who clipped the coupon that appears at the end of this column each week or by subscribers who responded to an appeal mailed by the campaign. So far \$1,518 has come in this way.

As the thermometer indicates, the fund now stands at \$9,151. Contributions last week totaled \$1,837.

Contribute today toward the fight for a socialist America. Use the coupon below, and make checks payable to Socialist Workers 1976 Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

How we're doing



Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

A copy of our report is on file with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C. Chairperson: Fred Halstead; treasurer: Arthur Hughes.

At Minneapolis forum

Camejo, Bellecourt champion Indian rights

By Claire Cunningham

MINNEAPOLIS—"We are the landlords of this country. It's the end of the month and the rent is due."

This statement by American Indian leader Clyde Bellecourt ended a public forum held here Friday, May 14. More than 120 people packed the meeting hall of the Minneapolis Native American Center to hear Bellecourt; Ramona Austin of the Minority Task Force of the National Organization for Women; and Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate.

The forum, entitled "The Struggle for Social Justice," capped a week of campaigning by Camejo in Minnesota, May 10-14.

Bellecourt, executive director of the American Indian Movement (AIM), spoke about the "judicial rape" of Native Americans by the courts in this country. There are currently 400-500 Native Americans on trial in South Dakota. The racist hysteria there is at such a pitch that it is impossible for Indians to get a fair trial.

"In South Dakota it takes them two days to select a jury, try a case, convict a person, and sentence him," said Bellecourt. He stressed the need for a united movement to defend the rights of Native Americans.

Bellecourt pointed to the example of the struggle to block the extradition of AIM leader Dennis Banks to South Dakota. "On April 3 when we held a rally in San Francisco to stop the extradition," he said, "thousands of people came there from all over the country."

"It was the first time in my life that I have seen such a large number of



From left, AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt, Twin Cities SWP leader August Nimtz, and socialist presidential candidate Peter Camejo.

Chicanos, of Black people, of Native people marching together. This crowd was mixed. It was together in solidarity. It was almost like a vision."

During his remarks Bellecourt said, "We thank the Socialist Workers party, we thank the *Militant* newspaper, we thank the organizers of this forum, who continue to bring us together in programs like this so that we can together nourish the roots of solidarity and unity."

Peter Camejo traced the history of the United States government's han-

dling of "the Indian question," exposing the brutal program of genocide against Native Americans.

After the Civil War, Camejo said, there was a popular movement for more humane treatment of Native Americans. This movement was soon crushed, however, leaving the government a free hand to violate treaties, rob Native Americans of their land, and deprive them of their culture and national identity.

The only thing that the bicentennial has meant for Indians, Camejo added, is renewed attacks on their rights.

"The Socialist Workers party gives unconditional and complete support to the right of total self-determination for Native Americans," Camejo said. "This means not only living up to all treaties, but far beyond that. *Because there is no price, no amount of rights, no amount of money, no amount of land that can ever make up for what has been a war of genocide.*"

At the end of the meeting a collection was taken to be divided equally between the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee and the Alternative Indian Education Fund.

Ramona Austin, a longtime activist in the civil rights and women's liberation movements, urged rally participants to join her in the struggle to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"We would be seriously deluded if we think that the ruling class in this country will give minority women concessions because it is morally the right thing to do," she said. "The only way we will get what we want and what we need is to apply pressure through constant mass action."

Austin hailed the role of the Socialist Workers party in building such united movements and pledged her support to Camejo's campaign.

During Camejo's week-long tour of Minnesota, he spoke to students at the University of Minnesota, Macalester College, Carleton College, and St. Cloud State University.

He also met informally with campaign supporters at a May 13 open house celebrating the grand opening of the new Socialist Workers campaign headquarters in St. Paul.

A vote for Pat is a 'vote for your freedom'

By Jane Roland

BROOKLYN—Shirley Smedley is the president of the Ebbets Field Residents Organization in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. She addressed a crowd of 100 people May 14 who had come to a rally for Pat Wright, Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress in Brooklyn's Fourteenth Congressional District. The rally was held at a Tivoli Towers, a housing development near Ebbets Field.

"I came here because I've been working with Pat, and she's been supporting our struggle and working with us," Smedley said. "So I came here tonight to hear her ideas. I think she's got some good ideas."

Gene Hill, a Black high school student and an activist in the Student

Coalition Against Racism, also spoke. Pointing to the fight for school desegregation in Boston and against cutbacks in New York City, Hill said, "They screw around with our education, but we need our education to show us the true nature of this society. The only candidate who supports these struggles is Pat." He urged everyone to "vote for your freedom. The only person you can vote for is Pat."

Two new campaign committees have been set up in Brooklyn to build support for Wright's campaign—one in Crown Heights and one in Williamsburg. Crown Heights has a large Caribbean community. Williamsburg is largely Black and Puerto Rican.

Campaign supporters at the rally pledged more than \$2,200. Fred Halstead, the SWP's 1968 presidential

candidate, reminded the audience that the SWP is funded by contributions from working people, not by the big corporations that bankroll the Democrats and Republicans.

Other speakers were Curtis Odom, a member of the Black Culture Club at Long Island University in Brooklyn and a student body officer there; Ruth Nebbia, a high school member of the Young Socialist Alliance; and Evelyn Vega, who chaired the rally.

In her talk Wright sketched the cutbacks in city services that have already taken place or are planned. She blasted the closing of many municipal hospitals, among them Greenpoint and Cumberland in Brooklyn.

Wright talked about the busing struggle in Boston and the fight for the

Equal Rights Amendment. Working people's problems, she said, will not be solved by the Democratic and Republican parties.

"We need our own party," Wright said, "a labor party based on the trade unions, a fighting party that would lead the struggles of working people and run its own candidates to really represent us. And we need a Black party that could mobilize the Black community to desegregate the schools and defend our affirmative-action job gains."

She called for an end to racist harassment of immigrants from Jamaica and Haiti.

"If you agree that 200 years of racism and exploitation are enough, then join with those who are fighting for the same goals. Join the SWP!"

Trade unionists speak out at Seattle rally

By Harold Schlechtweg

SEATTLE—Margaret Trowe is one of the few women members of Local 383, Assortment Sheet Metal Workers (AFL-CIO). She is also the Socialist Workers party candidate for U.S. Congress from the First District.

At a spirited campaign rally here May 22, Trowe blasted those who decry affirmative-action hiring programs for women and minorities as "reverse discrimination."

"Reverse discrimination—that's a bad joke," Trowe said. "I work in a factory that first hired women last year. My employer was forced to hire women in order to comply with government contract requirements."

"Now layoffs threaten, and we know we'll be the first to go."

Trowe also pledged to make support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment a central issue in her campaign.

Other candidates speaking at the rally were Carmen Maymi, SWP candidate for state legislature, and Patricia Bethard, candidate for governor. A special guest at the evening rally was Omari Musa, SWP senatorial candidate in California.

Black trade unionist Eugene Peterson, an officer of the Seattle Community College Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), also spoke. The union, representing more than 800 full- and

part-time faculty, began a week-long strike May 14. The teachers defied a court back-to-work order and continued to picket until a contract was won.

"One of the positive things about our strike was that students rallied behind us," Peterson said. Winning student support for striking faculty was a top priority for the Young Socialist Alliance.

Rick Young, a YSA member at Lincoln High School, brought several friends to the campaign rally. "High school students have played an important role in the movements for social change," Young told the crowd.

"Right now in Boston," he said, "it is

high school students who are putting their physical well-being on the line and showing they will not surrender their right to an equal education."

Musa discussed his California senatorial campaign and the prospects for socialism in America. "When people like Gene Peterson go into battle against school administrations," Musa pledged, "they can rest assured that the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance will be there shoulder to shoulder with them."

"When tens of millions of American workers decide that society should be organized in a way that will deal with human needs, the Socialist Workers party will be there too."

COINTELPRO

The FBI's secret war on political freedom

Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom by Nelson Blackstock with a new introduction by Noam Chomsky. New York: Vintage Books, 1976. Also distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 216 pp. \$2.95.

The appearance of this new edition of *Cointelpro* is a major event for the *Militant*, as well as for the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. Most of the chapters in the book appeared first as a twelve-part series in this paper in 1975. The book

Books

was originally published by Monad Press and distributed by Pathfinder Press.

The decision by Vintage, a division of Random House, to bring out this expanded and updated edition marks the first time that a *Militant* series has been turned into a book for a major publishing house.

Interest in the truth about the FBI's Cointelpro operations is fueled anew virtually every week as radio and television networks and major daily papers prominently report the latest news in the socialists' lawsuit against the government. At the same time there is growing interest in the SWP itself. What does it stand for? And why has it been so successful in its battle to uncover the hidden story of FBI crimes?

Wide distribution

A meeting of sales representatives was held at Random House on March 29 to discuss how many copies of *Cointelpro* to print. By coincidence, that day the *New York Times* front-paged its story on the FBI's burglaries of the socialists' offices in New York City.

The salespeople at the meeting were so optimistic about the response to the book that the run was expanded from ten or fifteen thousand to twenty-five thousand—a substantial number for a "trade" paperback. Random House also decided to rush into print rather than wait until fall as originally planned.

The publishers are planning a promotional tour of Morris Starsky, the socialist professor who was fired from Arizona State University as a result of one of the FBI schemes described in the book.

These plans are gratifying because *Cointelpro* deserves the kind of wide audience that only a major outfit like Random House can reach.

Nelson Blackstock is a leader of the SWP and an editor of the *Militant*. He has written this book in a clear and fresh style. He avoids the kind of language that means something only to those who are in the Marxist movement—and mystifies those who aren't.

The book ought to be distributed

widely because it will help meet the demand for material on the Socialist Workers party.

Book about SWP

To a large degree the book is about the party. It begins from the premise that the key to understanding Cointelpro is understanding what it is about the SWP that has triggered the FBI's relentless drive to disrupt and destroy it.

The main characters in the book are women and men who belong to the SWP. The picture of them that emerges is far removed from the anticommunist stereotypes—just as the truth about the FBI is the opposite of the crime-busters image peddled by J. Edgar Hoover and his successors.

This is a book about people like Maude Wilkinson, a young school-teacher who became a socialist because "I saw how rotten the schools were, how much money was spent on war and how little on education." As a result of these seditious ideas, she became the victim of an FBI poison-pen campaign.

Cointelpro is about some exceptionally tough people, like Evelyn Sell, a

teacher and a unionist who has been in the SWP since 1948. She was driven from her job in the Austin, Texas, schools as a result of an FBI vendetta, despite the fact that parents of her students had praised Sell for "her fairness and efficiency and her willingness always to make herself readily available. . . ."

This book is about a Black house painter named Clifton DeBerry, who was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi, grew up in Chicago, and in 1964 became the first Black to run for president of the United States. It is about DeBerry's education in the class-struggle union battles during World War II, his activity in the NAACP, his support for the historic 1956 Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, and his relationship with Malcolm X.

It is about a young sailor named Fred Halstead assigned to a ship in the Pacific in 1946, who found himself smack dab in the middle of a massive, turbulent movement of American GIs who were demanding to be sent home. It tells how Halstead never forgot the "simple proposition" that it is possible to organize among GIs, and how twenty years later he applied that

lesson in the anti-Vietnam War movement.

There is a Black man named Clarence Franklin who in 1961 ran for office in New York City. The FBI tried to use his arrest record to smear his campaign. (At that very moment, don't forget, the FBI agents were routinely breaking into the SWP offices in New York to steal and photograph documents, membership lists, and so forth. What an irony that these federal burglars were so indignant that a Black man, who had been on the wrong side of the racist cops and courts, should dare to run for office!)

Woven through the book are lessons—big and small—that ought to be learned from the FBI documents. Members of the YSA and SWP, for example, don't use marijuana or other illegal drugs because, even though people aren't generally arrested for smoking pot, the government is always looking for an opportunity to prosecute radicals.

The wisdom of this SWP and YSA policy is confirmed by a 1968 memo from Hoover to FBI field offices directing that "any information concerning the fact that individuals have marijuana . . . should immediately be furnished to local authorities and they should be encouraged to take action."

Red-baiting

Blackstock devotes an entire chapter to red-baiting and its roots in anticommunist prejudices. Red-baiting is poison in any movement. This is true whether it is part of a Cointelpro plot or a device used by people in the movement to "win" a political argument by substituting name-calling against "Communists" or "Trotskyites" for a reasoned discussion of the issues.

The book records some of the experiences the antiwar movement had with the corrosive effect of red-baiting. Kipp Dawson, who was a leader of the Student Mobilization Committee, the major student antiwar group, tells of a 1968 conference. This was at a time of sharp political debate over strategy for the antiwar movement, and widespread denunciation of the "Trots" by some who disagreed with the YSA and SWP.

A national meeting of SMC leaders, attended by 400 people, convened to consider these questions. "The discussion was at last beginning," Dawson recalls. "Suddenly, a thirty-three-year-old public relations man named Art Goldberg, who had somehow gotten himself on the SMC working committee, jumped up on a table and shouted, 'This is a Trotskyite-dominated conference! All the independents are leaving!'" After that, a minority walked out of the conference and out of the antiwar movement—although, fortunately, some of them later returned.

Reprints documents

As the *Militant* did when these articles first appeared, the book reproduces many of the actual FBI documents. The blunt language reeks with the arrogance of men who knew what they were doing was illegal, but were supremely confident that what they wrote would never be read by anyone on the outside—let alone published in a book.

For instance, in outlining a plot to harass an SWP candidate, the FBI said, "The SWP has met with little or no opposition in carrying forth its aims and purposes and in securing positions on the ballot for its candidates. It is felt that some disruptive action should be taken. . . ."

Blackstock sums it up this way: "As

COINTELPRO

THE FBI'S SECRET WAR ON POLITICAL FREEDOM

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY NOAM CHOMSKY

The first in-depth look at the covert and illegal FBI counterintelligence program—code-name COINTELPRO.

"The only conceivable purpose of the continuation of the Cointelpro techniques is harassment and disruption of legitimate political activity."

—The New York Times

S.1 criminal code: bipartisan assault on the Bill of Rights

this country's political police, the FBI has been assigned the role of determining what ideas are fit for the American people to hear and what ideas are not. Socialism, in their opinion, is not fit."

Prof. Noam Chomsky has updated his introduction, too. His essay is a thorough and readable summary of the major facts that are known about Cointelpro.

Chomsky punctures the swollen self-righteousness of the liberal press and politicians about Watergate. He documents the fact that the "criminal activities of the FBI were initiated under the liberal Democratic administrations. . . ." The liberals, he shows, "looked the other way, until the repression struck home under Nixon."

The break-in at the Watergate and the dirty tricks that went along with it were small potatoes compared with the decades of violence, harassment, and spying against the Black, labor, and socialist movements.

Chomsky points out that Cointelpro and similar operations spanning four decades "were (partially) exposed during the Watergate period, and though incomparably more serious than anything charged against Nixon, they were virtually ignored during this period by the liberal national press and journals of opinion."

Widespread publicity

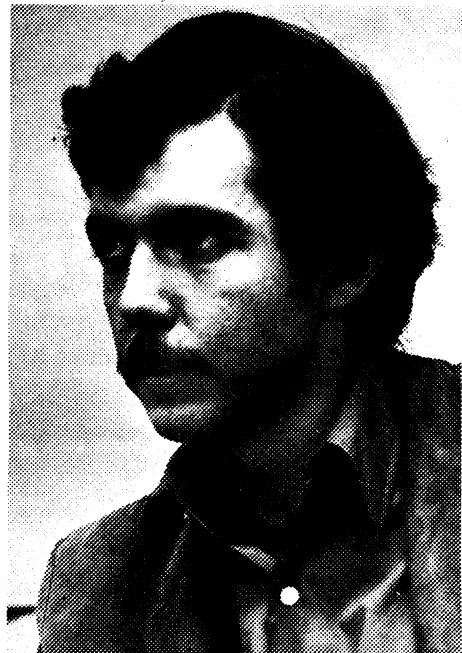
The widespread national publicity now being focused on the continuing revelations of the FBI's war against the SWP doesn't change this indictment. In contrast to the capitalist media's overkill reportage of every recorded word and gesture of the Nixon gang, the attention devoted to Cointelpro has been skimpy indeed.

But the fact is that the material in this book is incomparably more important, as well as more interesting, than *The Final Days* and *All the President's Men* combined.

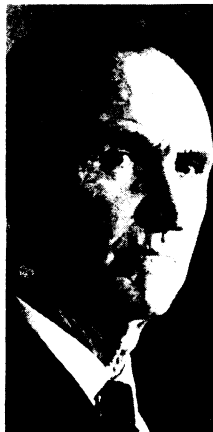
A final note: *Cointelpro* is not the last word. New material continually comes to light. What the FBI has served up in response to the unprecedented federal court order in the socialists' suit against government harassment is only the appetizer. The main course is still to come. Where are the documents, for example, describing the FBI's disruption program against the women's liberation movement? Where are the files on the assassination of Malcolm X? Where are the pages from the FBI's current and active files?

Much of this material will be coming out in connection with the SWP and YSA suit. It will provide material for two, three . . . many volumes of *Cointelpro*.

—Larry Seigle



Author Nelson Blackstock



Mansfield



Nixon



Kennedy



Mitchell



Scott



Hart

What do they have in common? All helped shape S.1.

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—Few congressional resolutions have generated more controversy in recent years than Senate Bill 1, the 799-page federal criminal code that would consolidate and ominously expand the repressive laws at government disposal.

Molded in its final stages by the likes of Richard Nixon and John Mitchell, the Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975, as S.1 is officially known, is the ultimate in "law and order" legislation.

S.1 would grant the president more power to keep secrets and more power to punish government employees and reporters who let the public in on those secrets.

That's not all. S.1 resurrects the Smith "thought control" Act, broadly redefines conspiracy laws, reinstitutes the death penalty, threatens demonstrators with criminal penalties, restricts labor's right to strike, imposes mandatory sentences for a number of offenses, and authorizes the admission of illegal evidence in court.

Apparently the architects of the bill thought no one outside congressional committees would notice its Orwellian tint. Few did at first.

Then last spring some of the news media began to denounce S.1 as a threat to the press. Unions blasted its antilabor provisions. Civil libertarians warned of its pervasive attack on the rights of Americans.

Congress pauses

Members of Congress paused to take stock. Sen. Birch Bayh, on the eve of announcing his presidential campaign, removed his name from the list of S.1 sponsors. Others, not eager to be dubbed the Frankenstein of this monster, reconsidered their all-out support. Cosmetic amendments flooded the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Now the liberals and conservatives of the Senate Judiciary Committee are working on a "compromise," trading the rights of the American people back and forth, testing public reaction to this and that alteration.

In February, Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Minority Leader Hugh Scott tried to speed the process along by proposing deletion of some of the more controversial sections. They also suggested giving it a new number because "S.1" had become a "battle cry," causing "controversy and pain" to senators.

Conveniently for Mansfield and Scott, most of the provisions they dispensed with were already covered in a similar fashion by existing or pending legislation, by recent Supreme Court decisions, or by President Ford's "executive order."

Kennedy's deal

Then in March, Senators Edward Kennedy, Philip Hart, and James Abourezk came up with the official liberal solution. The committee's S.1 hardliners, John McClellan and Roman Hruska, accepted some of the

liberals' proposed changes.

McClellan and Hruska agreed to drop the death penalty section, replacing it with current law. They conceded repeal of the Smith Act and a reduction in penalties for possession of marijuana. They also proposed leaving for a "later time" the new, extended espionage legislation, under which the news media could be prosecuted. They cited the current "climate of distrust."

The Kennedy proposal—even if accepted down the line—leaves untouched a host of police-state-like provisions, such as:

- those aimed at labor's right to strike, including possible prosecution for "extortion" if there is violence during a labor dispute and for "black-mail" for threatening or placing another person in fear of "economic loss or injury to his business or profession";

- extension of federal jurisdiction into new areas, most notably to Indian reservations, where the FBI's history of provocation and violence is well documented;

- interference with the right to protest, including government authority to bar demonstrators from certain buildings and grounds designated temporary presidential residences, a ban on demonstrating to influence judicial proceedings, and criminal penalties for "obstructing a government function by physical interference";

- power to declare a "national defense emergency" for "actual or threatened" disturbances of the international relations of the United States (Vietnam? Angola?).

Kennedy isn't talking about these sections of S.1, but in April he did publicly release memoranda showing how the differences on the committee are beginning to "narrow."

"The concessions are clearly aimed at severing blocks of people from the S.1 movement," says Esther Herst, Washington coordinator of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation.

"Those groups opposing S.1 because of the death penalty might now reconsider that opposition, or the press and media organizations which opposed S.1 solely for its threats to the press may now endorse the bill or at least halt their editorial opposition."

Herst says there is still research to be done on the omnibus bill to determine what other horrors remain to be uncovered.

Now that some of the publicized sections have been ditched, it's crucial that S.1 opponents rekindle their efforts to educate the public on the dangers still present.

One aspect of S.1 that has received relatively little attention and may be slipped into any final version is the part on sentencing. While the Kennedy proposal suggests minor changes (such as lowering the maximum sentence for a Class B felony from thirty to twenty-five years), most of these parts are apparently considered noncontroversial.

Under S.1, there would be mandato-

ry prison sentences for a whole series of offenses, thus denying future parole under any circumstances. For others, it would be extremely difficult to get parole, because the prisoner would have to prove such abstract absurdities as that his or her release would not "undermine respect for the law."

S.1 would also allow the government to regularly appeal sentences it thought too low.

Harsh words

Even in its amended form, S.1 has gotten some pretty harsh words from members of the House. Rep. Abner Mikva says that a "monster without some of its fangs is still a monster."

Rep. Richard Ottinger charges that S.1 "substantially repeals the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

Rep. Bella Abzug has characterized it as "one of the most serious threats to the civil liberties of all Americans in recent times."

But they all agree that a revised criminal code is needed, and what they will say and do when a disguised S.1 comes up for a vote is another matter.

The real alternative to S.1 would be ending government secrecy and letting the American people know how this country's rulers have "legally" and illegally trampled on our rights for decades.

The real alternative to the "law and order" code would be for Congress to take action to end the conditions that breed crime, such as putting all the unemployed back to work now.

But that's not on the agenda for this Congress of Democrats and Republicans. What is on the agenda is S.1, and supporters of civil rights should be on guard for any prettied-up version that Congress tries to sneak through.

The only good S.1 is a dead S.1.

FURTHER READING

Civil liberties

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL

By James P. Cannon

Cannon was among the eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers party and Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 sent to prison under the Smith Act—the first conviction under this witch-hunting law. This book contains Cannon's verbatim testimony, as he explains the aims and methods of Marxists and a revolutionary policy for defense against government persecution. 184 pp., cloth \$5, paper \$2.25

SOCIALISM & DEMOCRACY

By Linda Jenness. 24 pp., 25 cents

FBI PLOT AGAINST THE BLACK MOVEMENT Secret Documents Exposed

By Baxter Smith. 24 pp., 35 cents

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR

By Stephanie Coontz. 32 pp., 50 cents

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

L.A. county workers fight budget cuts

By Walter Lippmann and Kathleen O'Nan

LOS ANGELES—Los Angeles County officials, following the lead of New York City and San Francisco, have taken a hardnosed attitude in opening the annual negotiations with county employees.

County officials have launched a massive media campaign crying "poverty" and demanding the layoff of 3,700 workers out of a county work force of 85,000 employees.

At the same time, county officials have already begun drastic cutbacks aimed at health care and social service programs and agencies funded by the county. These cutbacks and layoffs have the hardest impact on the Black, Chicano, and Asian communities.

County management has offered a 1 or 2 percent pay increase if the unions accept substantial reductions in fringe benefits and the inclusion of a "management's rights" clause in union contracts.

County demands include ending of medical and dental coverage for proba-

Walter Lippmann and Kathleen O'Nan are Los Angeles County employees. Lippmann is a state executive board member of SEIU Local 535. O'Nan is active in SEIU Local 660.

tionary employees, reductions in sick leave and workers compensation benefits, and the elimination of contract requirements for the county to negotiate any rule or job changes with the unions.

Among the community programs and agencies already affected or threatened by additional cutbacks are the Well-Baby Clinics, groups which provide bus service to senior citizens for medical appointments, alcohol and drug abuse clinics, the Salvation Army, and mental health facilities such as the Resthaven Community Mental Health Center in Chinatown.

These groups have joined together in a Human Services Coalition to demand no cutbacks and no layoffs.

The Human Services Coalition is calling for a massive turnout at the June 11 public hearings on the new

county budget. The protest will begin at 9:30 a.m. at the Hall of Administration, Temple Street and Grand Avenue in downtown Los Angeles.

Service Employees International Union Local 535 has already joined the Human Services Coalition. SEIU Local 660 has also issued a call for a big turnout at the budget hearings.

A fact sheet issued by Local 660 states:

"The community *MUST* be mobilized. That's where you come in. Organizations representing the interests of consumers, and individual consumers (patients and families), along with other taxpayers must be alerted to the scale of destruction proposed for the County health system. June 11, 1976 at the Hall of Administration is our D-Day for the drive to halt the money cuts."

On May 6 the county workers unions, following a meeting of the Coalition of County Unions, organized protests at scores of county facilities. One thousand marched at County-USC Medical Center, 800 at Rancho Los Amigos Hospital.

Welfare workers marched at county offices from Long Beach to Lancaster and from Exposition Park to West Covina. Their mood was optimistic and combative. Discussions are being carried out in many county facilities as to what to do next.

The memberships of the unions have not been fully informed of the progress of the negotiations. They have not been told specifically what cutbacks and reductions are being demanded by the county.

To begin to mobilize against these attacks, the unions urgently need to call mass membership meetings to present full and accurate reports on the progress of negotiations and to map a plan of action. Such meetings could play a significant role in breaking through the current impasse in the negotiations.

Public employees have been under attack across the country. Mobilization of the union memberships together with forces from the Black, Chicano, and Asian communities can turn around the pattern of retreat and defeat.

LOS ANGELES

How to stop cutbacks & layoffs

Dr. Louis Simpson, past president, Interns and Residents Association

Dr. Ken Stein, chairperson, Human Services Coalition

Walter Lippmann, Socialist Workers party, Representative of Social Services Union, SEIU Local 535

Friday, June 11, 7:30 p.m., at the United Teachers Building, 2511 West Third Street (just west of Alvarado). Free parking available. For more information call (213) 732-8197.

...steel local election

Continued from page 9

voted on the election committee, I thought the vote would be granted. I'm shocked that Mirocha denied it. He acts like the union belongs solely to him."

The insurgents knew there was no hope for a fair count if this election committee stood. But they had no recourse within the union structure. Attorney Leon Despres agreed to take their case to federal court.

Lawyers from the international union staff were sent in to defend Mirocha's dictatorial methods. At first they claimed to be attorneys for Local 65. But they were later forced to admit that the local never retained them. They were solely representing Mirocha.

The judge slapped a temporary restraining order on the election. He appeared likely to rule in favor of Chico's appeal for a properly elected committee to oversee the voting.

At that point Mirocha's lawyers agreed to let Chico name nine more members to the election committee. The ballots were to be counted by the Labor Department in the presence of observers from both sides.

The fight for an honest election paid off. On election day, April 28, a near-record 55 percent of Local 65's members went to the polls.

And they elected John Chico with 2,228 votes to Mirocha's 1,304—another two-to-one landslide for the Sadlowski forces.

Calendar

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

CLASSES ON SOCIALISM. Why do socialists run candidates for public office? Sun., June 13, 7:30 p.m. 2 Central Sq. Ausp: SWP. For more information call (617) 547-4395 or (617) 262-4621.

NEW YORK

PORTUGAL, THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION: POPULAR POWER . . . AND THE COMING MEDITERRANEAN REVOLUTION. Informational forum and film, *Viva Portugal!*, a documentary of Portuguese revolution. Featuring Alexandre Oliveira, former editor of *República*. Sat., June 5, 7:30 p.m. Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St. Admission: \$2. Sponsors: School for Marxist Education; Cineaste; Puerto Rican Socialist party; others. For more information call (212) 989-6493. Proceeds benefit GAZETA, a new popular power voice in Portugal.

OAKLAND

CHICANO LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM. Fri., June 11, 8 p.m.: *The Chicano struggle today.* A

panel discussion. Panelists: Vicente Gonzalez, leader of Union City RUP; Maria Vargas, Raza Educators, Berkeley; Frobén Lozada, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 9th C.D.; Ana Nieto Gomez, teacher, Northridge College, Los Angeles. Sat., June 12, 12 noon: **Grand Opening, Militant Books/Libros Militantes; Nationalism and feminism.** Ana Nieto Gomez. Sat., 2 p.m.: **Chicano liberation and socialism.** Miguel Pendás, columnist for *Militant*. 1467 Fruitvale Ave. Donation: \$1-Fri. forum; 50¢ for classes. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

QUEENS

RUMMAGE SALE. Sat., June 12, 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. 90-43 149th St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (212) 658-7718.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HEAR WILLIE MAE REID. Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, SWP vice-presidential candidate. Fri., June 11, 8 p.m. St. Mark's Episcopal Church, 301 A St. SE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: D.C. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7706.

...ERA

Continued from page 13

The march answered a question that has haunted many ERA supporters: Can we outmobilize the anti-ERA forces? May 16 said "yes." It showed that thousands are ready to march for ERA ratification when given the opportunity.

And for the demonstrators, especially those women who had never before participated in a women's rights action, it helped answer another question: Do we have any power? Again, the answer was "yes." A new sense of self-confidence spread through the crowd as marchers began to see the potential power of their numbers, organized in united action.

On May 16 organized labor took its first step in active support for the ERA. The significance of that fact should not be underestimated. If the immense power and organization of the union movement were mobilized, it could be the decisive factor in victory for the ERA movement.

The May 16 march and rally can mark a turning point for the ERA struggle. By building on this success women's rights supporters can seize the offensive from the anti-ERA forces.

NOW has already taken one step in the right direction. It has set August 26, 1976, as "ERA Action Day." NOW chapters in several cities have begun talking about doing something on the ERA around that date.

August 26 activities can draw together feminist groups, unions, and Black and student organizations. They can also help lay the basis for actions this fall.

An ongoing action campaign is essential to keeping national attention focused on the issue and transforming the movement's potential power into a decisive political force.

By beginning to plan more activities now, ERA supporters will be sending out a message to anti-ERA forces, the Illinois legislators, and government officials across the country. It will tell them that May 16 was just the beginning; a promise to mobilize more women's liberation activists, more trade unionists, more Blacks, and more students in a determined drive to make the ERA part of the U.S. Constitution.

...crisis

Continued from page 3

Municipal Employees, the largest public workers union in New York.

"I don't give a damn about their policy," the leader of the powerful union said at first. "Did you ever hear of the strike?"

But Gotbaum's real peeve was that the EFCB "didn't bargain with us" about the wage freeze.

Two days after the board's decision, Gotbaum told reporters, "I am delighted that my brothers in transit were able to sign a contract based on the guidelines.

"I am hopeful we can sign a contract based on the guidelines. I believe we can." He added, "All we are asking for is decent, honest collective bargaining."

What Mayor Beame's administration means by "decent, honest collective bargaining" was made clear when it opened negotiations with Gotbaum's union a few days after the wage-freeze ruling.

The city demanded \$24 million in cuts in wages and benefits, explaining that it had already deducted that money from the new budget.

What Gotbaum means by "decent, honest collective bargaining" is *collaborating* in carrying out the wage freeze, layoffs, and cutbacks.

For the sake of their alliance with the Democratic party, the union officials accept the priorities set by the capitalist politicians.

The union officials accept the need for cutbacks, layoffs, and wage freezes to carry out those priorities.

They ask only to be consulted, to participate in the anti-working-class drive.

As a *New York Times* "News Analysis" on the EFCB wage freeze pointed out, "Realistically there now appears to be little to bargain about. . . . The final terms are known to start with."

The point is correct. Once labor accepts the political priorities of the big-business representatives in the Democratic party, there is little left to talk about.

A struggle against the wage freeze, against the layoffs, against the cutbacks means a break from the old policy of subordinating workers' needs to the priorities of capitalist politicians.

As the *New York Times* proclaimed, "The new era has begun."

In this new era, the unions need a new policy and a new leadership—a policy and leadership that put as their first priority the defense of the rights and living standards of the working class.

...SWP

Continued from page 17

convention—it decides its tactics and elects its leadership—not the conventions or congresses or meetings of the Fourth International. Of course, a party gives serious consideration to the opinions of the Fourth International and reports honestly and thoroughly on its deliberations and conclusions.

The main purpose of the Fourth International is to apply the Marxist program and analyze world politics as a whole, and to aid the construction of revolutionary parties in every single country.

Q. Is it considered an aid to the revolutionary parties in the nations?

A. It is an aid in a political sense, yes. American revolutionists, I think, would consider it an irreplaceable aid.

Counter-mobilization:

A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks

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Tucson: YSA, SUPO 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720. Tel: (602) 624-9176.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley: SWP, YSA, Granma Bookstore, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

East Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore, 1237 S. Atlantic Blvd., East Los Angeles, Calif. 90022. Tel: (213) 265-1347.

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San Diego: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Fernando Valley: SWP, P.O. Box 4456, Panorama City, Calif. 91412. Tel: (213) 894-2081.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918; YSA—(415) 863-2285.

San Francisco, Mission District: SWP, Socialist Bookstore, Libreria Socialista, 3284 23rd St. San Francisco, Calif. 94110.

San Jose: SWP, YSA, 123 S. 3rd St., Suite 220, San Jose, Calif. 95113. Tel: (408) 295-8342.

East San Jose: SWP, 1192 E. Santa Clara, San Jose, Calif. 95116. Tel: (408) 295-2618.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

Santa Cruz: YSA, c/o Student Activities Office, Redwood Bldg., UCSC, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95064.

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Denver: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 1379-81 Kalamath, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: (303) 623-2825.

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Muncie: YSA, Box 387 Student Center, Ball State University, Muncie, Ind. 47306.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, Sunflower Apts. #23, Lawrence, Kans. 66044.

KENTUCKY: Lexington: YSA, P.O. Box 952 University Station, Lexington, Ky. 40506. Tel: (606) 266-0536.

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College Park: YSA, c/o Student Union, University of Maryland, College Park, Md. 20742. Tel: (301) 454-4758.

Prince Georges County: SWP, P.O. Box 1807, Prince Georges Plaza, Hyattsville, Md. 20788. Tel: (202) 333-0265 or (202) 797-7706.

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Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4620.

Boston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass. 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

Cambridge: SWP, 2 Central Square, Cambridge, Mass. 02139. Tel: (617) 547-4395.

Roxbury: SWP, 1865 Columbus Ave., Roxbury, Mass. 02119. Tel: (617) 445-7799.

Worcester: YSA, Box 229, Greendale Station, Worcester, Mass. 01606.

MICHIGAN: Ann Arbor: YSA, Room 4103, Mich. Union, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 48104. Tel: (313) 663-8766.

Detroit, West Side: SWP, 18415 Wyoming, Detroit, Mich. 48221. Tel: (313) 341-6436.

Detroit: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

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THE MILITANT

Camejo tours three cities

Thousands in Spain hear U.S. socialist

By Joanna Rossi

BARCELONA—Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party candidate for president of the United States, concluded a nine-day tour of three Spanish cities May 29. The trip received extensive coverage in newspapers and magazines.

During his visit Camejo addressed six public meetings in Barcelona, Valencia, and Madrid, speaking to a combined total of 4,000 workers and students.

Camejo also met with Antonio García Duarte, organization secretary of the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union, politically close to the Spanish Socialist party); Marcelino Camacho, the best-known leader of the workers commissions (identified politically with the Communist party line); and other leaders of Spain's illegal trade-union organizations.

A public meeting, held May 27 in the Barrio Pilar, a large working-class neighborhood in Madrid, was a high point of the tour. Camejo had been invited to speak on the topic "The Political Situation in the United States and Its Impact on World Politics" by the Santa María del Val club, an organization of young workers.

The meeting room was packed with more than 500 young workers, some students, and a number of older persons.

It was an enthusiastic crowd, hungry for revolutionary ideas. They applauded and laughed as Camejo spoke in Spanish, punctuating his talk with jokes at the expense of bourgeois politicians, the FBI and CIA, and other capitalist institutions and figures.



Hall at University of Barcelona was packed to overflowing when Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo spoke there May 25.

Militant/Joanna Rossi

Camejo described the campaign his party is waging in the United States. He talked about the deteriorating economic situation, about cutbacks in social services, the impact of Watergate, and harassment by the FBI and CIA. He outlined how the American people are fighting back, pointing to the women's liberation movement, the Black struggle in face of the new racist offensive, the Chicano movement, the growing dissatisfaction among American workers.

One of the points he stressed—and this touched on a topic under sharp debate within the Spanish left—is the need for the working class and its parties to remain independent from bourgeois parties and programs. Camejo explained that in the United States, as in the rest of the world, the

Communist party and Social Democracy do not hold this view, traditionally supporting and seeking blocs with the "liberal" bourgeoisie.

He explained the disastrous consequences of such politics, taking up the defeat of Allende's government in Chile as an example. He mentioned the danger in Italy, where today the Communist party is attempting to work its way into a multiclass bloc.

He recalled the experience of the Russian revolutionists, who also had to combat these same politics: "I say, like Lenin did, like Trotsky did, that there can be no government blocs, no alliances, no 'junta' with parties or representatives of the bourgeoisie."

The audience rocked with laughter at his reference ("junta") to the deals the Spanish reformist parties are trying to

establish through a "junta" with their bourgeoisie. The applause was loud and prolonged.

Continued on page 25

Coming soon

Coming issues of the *Militant* will report on Peter Camejo's meetings with Marcelino Camacho, the best-known figure in the Workers Commissions, the unions identified with the Spanish Communist party, and with Antonio García Duarte, organization secretary of the union confederation aligned with Spanish Social Democrats.

Watch for this and other coverage of Camejo's visit to Spain.



Crowd of 1,500 at University of Madrid chanted 'Unity! Amnesty!'

Militant/Joanna Rossi